CHURCH HISTORY

LÖVGREN

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A CHURCH HISTORY

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

BY

NILS LÖVGREN
BISHOP OF VESTERÅS

WITH A SERIES OF BIOGRAPHIES

BY

AUGUST EDMAN
ADJUNCT AT LULEÅ "H. ALLM. LÄROVERK"

TRANSLATED

BY

M. WAHLSTRÖM AND C. W. FOSS

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THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

to the eighth edition

This work aims to serve both as a text-book and a reader, and, hence, it contains two distinct parts. The text part forms a complete whole by itself and is printed in larger type. The second part forms a series of related topics and is printed in smaller type. The former should be carefully studied and thoroughly learned, while the second part may be read in the class-room or privately by each pupil. Such reading may net but a small store to memory, but it will add new traces to the mental picture which one must have of an event or a period to have any real knowledge of the same.

The illustrations are not many. The aim has been to present specimens of various styles of church architecture, official vestments, the garb of different orders, and pictures of celebrated men. That the selection has been made with special reference to our own country each teacher will recognize as proper. Many might have preferred to see some of the great masterpieces of art as for instance the cathedral of Cologne, but such can be seen in any of the ordinary works of geography.

Some may regard the text part as too long. On this point it may be remarked that the ease of learning a certain subject does not always depend on the number of pages in a book, and further it is easier to omit certain portions of the text than to make additions to it. There are more dates given than may be necessary for the pupil to commit for the reason that in matters of this kind opinions differ as to what is important and unimportant, and, again, it may be convenient to have the dates for reference though they be not committed.

Wherever political and church history occupy common ground the author has followed the texts most generally used in Swedish and general history. It lightens the burden of the learner considerably if he may have the same matter presented in the same form.

May this little work in some measure serve to acquaint the young with the wonderful way in which the Lord has led his Church in spite of all her weaknesses and errors forward toward the high goal he has set before her.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

As there are no suitable text-books in English in church history for schools and colleges, and as this want has been long felt at the institutions of our synod, the Board of Augustana Book Concern authorized the translation of Bishop Nils Löfgren's Church History for publication. This work has now been completed. It is mainly a literal translation, but as the original was written for the use of schools in Sweden a few changes and additions have of necessity been made to adapt it for use in this country. Thus two entire chapters have been added: Chapter G on the Religious Denominations in America, and Chapter H on the Lutheran Church in America. The last Chapter, on Missions, is also new material with the exception of a few paragraphs and the Retrospect.

The orginal has passed through eight editions. In the translation no special edition has been followed, but several have been consulted. The illustrations used in the original have been retained. A few have been added for the additional chapters.

It is to be hoped that this work may be as acceptable to the teacher and student in its new form as it has been in its original.

Rock Island, August, 1906.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. **The Object of Church History and its Divisions.** The object of Church History is to present a general delineation of the development of the Christian Church from her foundation to the present day. At certain epochs of this development new forces have in an unusual degree entered into the service of the Church, and new demands have been made upon her in the prosecution of her work. These epochs mark the boundaries between three main divisions of Church History: the *Ancient Era*, the *Mediaeval Era*, and the *Modern Era*. The Ancient Era may be subdivided into two periods: the *Period of the Martyrs* and the *Period of Doctrinal Development*.

2. **The Fulness of Time.** Ever since the time the promise was given that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, God's world-economy has been based upon the plan of man's salvation through Christ. In the Old Testament the aim was to prepare mankind to receive Christ, when he came. This preparation was carried on not only among the Jews, but also among the Gentiles, and, in spite of the obstacles which sin and human frailties laid in the way, in the "fulness of time," the Divine plan was carried out.

At that time, when the Old Testament was merged into the New, three things especially prove that the age was ripe for receiving the Saviour of the world. *The nations had exhausted their resources and had found that they could not themselves alone provide for their true happiness. Among them was found a small remnant which because of their hunger and thirst after righteousness were capable of receiving the new light and life of Christianity. Furthermore, the outward conditions were favorable to the introduction and establishment of the Christian Church in the world.*

The people of Israel God himself had chosen and fostered to be the people of his covenant, and he had bestowed on them a whole series of divine revelations both in word and deed. On account of sin, Israel was often chastised, and even carried into captivity by the Gentiles. From the last captivity — the Babylonian — many Israelites were allowed to return to the land of their fathers.

As these were mostly from the tribe of Judah, their descendants were called Jews. Captivity with its great sufferings had taken away from them their former inclination toward idolatry; now they adhered strictly to the observance of the law, both in divine worship and in daily life. Nevertheless, there came a deep spiritual decline. On the one hand unbelief and materialistic pleasure-seeking prevailed (Sadduceeism), on the other a false dependence on an outward observance of the law and the traditions of the elders (Phariseeism). This prevented a real consciousness of sin and a true longing for the coming Saviour. In him they saw only a deliverer from foreign oppression and one who should help them to acquire temporal happiness and tranquillity. These national Messianic hopes created and nourished a spirit of insubordination against the Roman government, which sooner or later must lead to the overthrow of the Jewish state.

The Gentiles God had seemingly allowed to go their own way. To them he gave no new revelation. That knowledge of God which they had inherited from the primitive age of man they had lost. They had ceased to honor and praise God, and, as a consequence, they worshiped the creature instead of the creator. But even in this degenerate state, their religions contained many germs of truth, which for a time gave support and comfort to their religious cravings. The more civilization developed, the more the faults of the heathen religions became manifest, and at the time of the establishment of the Christian Church, there prevailed among the representative civilized nations a complete state of moral and religious dissolution. Some sought to gain a higher light by an intermingling of several religions, others threw away with a haughty scorn all religious ideas, and looked upon all talk of supernatural things as mere nursery-tales. Close upon the religious decline followed the moral. Unrestrained seeking after pleasure was coupled with wanton cruelty; eagerness for filthy lucre nurtured servile submission to those in power, and dishonesty in daily life. The moral loss which mankind had sustained could not be concealed, much less remedied by an art which was now the obedient servant of immorality and the passions. Philosophical speculation was not able to give a new impulse to the world, after it had become so bankrupt in all real knowledge as to declare: *nothing can be known with certainty, not even that nothing can be known.* The development of power which had taken place within the Roman Empire was rather a scourge

than a help to the nations. When we consider all this we are forced to admit that humanity would have been doomed, had not Christ come as its deliverer.

But right amidst this depraved generation there lived a few, mostly of the lower class, who in secret sighed beneath the burden of their own guilt and the depravity of the age, and cherished an earnest, though often indistinct, longing for a deliverer from this evil. Not to mention those who as educators, forerunners, and disciples stood near Christ, we call to mind the shepherds of Bethlehem, Simeon, and Hannah, and the inhabitants of Sychar. That even among the heathen there was found susceptibility for a higher religious life is proved not only by such persons as the Wise Men from the East, the Centurion at Capernaum, and the Syro-Phoenician Woman, but also by the numerous proselytes who abandoned idolatry and worshiped the God of Israel.

An important task was already accomplished for Christianity by the breaking down of the barriers which formerly had separated the nations. Under the sceptre of Rome the most powerful nations of the age were united, and between them arose a lively intercommunication. By means of a single language — the Greek — one could make himself understood throughout the whole Roman Empire. This language was by its plasticity and richness in forms destined to be the vessel wherein the rich contents of Christian revelation could be offered to the Graeco-Roman world. The highstrung education of the classic nations had created forms for intellectual life which by their keenness, perspicuity, profusion, and many-sidedness offered the most excellent means for the formal presentation and development of Christianity. In addition to this, Jewish colonies were found in most of the important cities both in the Orient and the Occident. Through them Jewish monotheism and the Jewish Messianic expectations became known in wide circles, and thus a beginning had been made to implant ideas of the true religion in the minds of many of the heathen. The Jewish Synagogue in many places also became a bridge for bringing the gospel message over to the heathen.

When the soil was thus prepared, the time had come for the founding and establishment of the Christian Church in the world.

Jewish Hellenism

THE ANCIENT ERA.

(A. D. 30–600.)

A. THE PERIOD OF THE MARTYRS.

(A. D. 30–324.)

a. The Founding of the Church, its Extension, and Establishment under the Direction of the Apostles until about 100 A. D.

3. **The Founding of the Church and its first Propagation among the Jews** (Era of Peter). The Church is that community within which the Holy Ghost dwells and works in the world. It dates its existence from the first day of Pentecost after the resurrection of Jesus, as the Holy Ghost on that day was poured out upon the disciples of Christ. (Acts 2.) The Church could then be likened unto a grain of mustard seed (Matt. 13: 31–32) planted in the great field of the world, but at the same time it showed by a strong inward and outward development the great vital power that dwelt within it. The Church was a leaven capable of permeating all the conditions of mankind.

In accordance with the injunction of Christ (Acts 1: 8) the Apostles labored first among the Jews beginning at their capital city Jerusalem. Peter led the work among the Jews. At pentecost, referred to above, he delivered his first public sermon. Not less than about three thousand souls were converted to the Christian faith and

were baptized. After this the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved.

To begin with the Christians were allowed to enjoy quiet, and favor with all the people. But after a few years there broke out a persecution, during which Stephen suffered death, and in which Saul, afterwards called Paul, took an active part, A. D. 36 (Acts 7 and 8). Then the members of the Church were scattered to different parts of Palestine, and to cities beyond it. After that time there arose many congregations of Christian Jews, who received from their countrymen, by way of reproach, the name of Nazarenes. These were continually subjected to a growing hatred from the unbelieving Jews, and this hatred oftentimes gave itself vent in persecutions. A persecution of this kind was instigated by Herod Agrippa I. about the year 44, and cost James the Elder his life. Shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem another persecution is said to have broken out in which James the Just, the brother of the Lord, elder of the church in Jerusalem, was one of the victims. After the fall of Jerusalem (A. D. 70) the Jews were unable further to take violent measures against the Christians.

4. **The first Dissemination of Christianity among the Gentiles** (Era of Paul). When Christianity was firmly established among the Jews, it was time to bring it also to the Gentiles. In the same measure as the Jews in their blindness rejected the gospel, was the center of gravity of the Christian Church transferred to the Gentile world. Immediately after the first persecution, Paul was in a miraculous way converted to Christianity, and called as the Apostle of the Gentiles (A. D. 37), and somewhat later Peter baptized, as the first fruits of the Gentile world, the Centurion Cornelius of Cæsarea and his house (Acts

10). The first mixed congregation of converted Jews and Gentiles arose at Antioch, and here it was that the confessors of Christ were first called Christians. To this church Paul was called at the time of the persecution of Herod Agrippa, and from this point he started on his three great missionary journeys (A. D. 45–59) which extended to Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece. He labored especially in the great cities of Ephesus and Corinth. Also in Rome, where a Christian Church had early been established, he was permitted, during a captivity of two years, to preach the gospel of Christ. Thus he either founded or confirmed the Christian Church in the most important cities of the Roman domain both in Asia and Europe. These cities afterwards became suitable starting-points for the spread of Christianity to neighboring places.

5. **The Liberation of the Christians from the Restraint of the Jewish Law.** The Twelve Apostles were at first uncertain, as to whether or not Gentiles should be circumcised and obliged to live up to the Mosaic law, before they could be baptized. Peter was freed from this uncertainty by a special revelation (Acts 10). To Paul, on the other hand, it seems from the beginning to have been evident that the Christians should be free from the restraint of the Jewish law. But all Christian Jews could not share with him this liberal view. In the various churches there arose Jewish zealots, who endeavored to establish an opposite opinion. The point in question was decided at the assembly of the Apostles in Jerusalem (A. D. 50). Here the freedom of the converted heathen from the precepts of the ceremonial law of the Old Testament was unanimously accepted. That this freedom applies to all Christians Paul has set forth with the strongest emphasis, especially in his Epistle to the Galatians, and

this he did in direct opposition to the zealots for the law, who still continued for a time to disturb the peace of the Church.

6. **The Establishment of the Christian Church** (Era of John). John survived the other Apostles († about 100 A. D.). He devoted his old age to the great work of caring for the young Church, superintending her sound development. From Ephesus, where he dwelt most of the time, he took charge especially of the churches in Asia Minor. He labored to the end that the Church might attain that maturity which it needed, when without the immediate direction of the Apostles it should carry out its high calling to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world. At the time of the death of John churches were found in all parts of the Roman Empire and even beyond its boundaries.

7. **Our knowledge concerning the subsequent Labors and Destinies of the Apostles.** Besides that which the books of the New Testament relate about the life and labors of the Apostles, we possess a meagre and oftentimes unreliable tradition.

Peter is said to have labored in the countries east of Palestine. According to the unanimous verdict of tradition, he ended his days in Rome as a martyr in the persecution under Nero. He died on the cross. But when from a feeling of humility he deemed it too great an honor to die in the same position as his Master, he is said to have asked to be crucified with his head downward, which was granted. The assertion of the Roman Catholic Church that Peter labored twenty-five years as bishop in Rome is evidently without foundation.

It is assumed, that *Paul* was liberated from his first captivity in Rome, and that he traveled far and wide as a gospel messenger, and came even as far as Spain. After having enjoyed liberty for some three years he was again taken prisoner and beheaded at Rome (A. D. 67).

John died a natural death. He lived for a long time after the death of the other Apostles, and died at the close of the first century. Yet he had to suffer for the cause of his Master. During one of the persecutions (most likely that of Domitian) he was exiled to Patmos, a small island in the Aegean sea. It was here that he was favored with the visions related in his Apocalypse. Afterwards he was allowed to return to Ephesus. Of his love and his pastoral faithfulness the New Testament writings which bear his name give strong evidence. A beautiful testimony of the above named qualities is a narrative that has reached us from those times. During one of his apostolic journeys he saw a young man in Smyrna, whose noble appearance attracted his attention. He gave this young man over to the special care of the bishop and continued his journey. During another visit he inquired of the bishop about the young man. The bishop answered embarrassed, "He is dead, dead before God; he has left the ways of the Lord, and has become the leader of a band of robbers." The Apostle in spite of remonstrances repaired immediately to the rendezvous of the robbers. He was found by some members of the gang and without opposition taken prisoner. At his own request he was brought before their chief. When the latter perceived at a distance the venerable Apostle, he was seized with a feeling of shame and fled. But John hastened after him and cried, "My son, why fleest thou from thy father, an unarmed old man? Fear not, there is yet hope for thee. Believe me, Christ has sent me." The young man stood trembling, threw away his weapons, and burst into a flood of tears. But John embraced him, and kissed him, and brought him back to the church. Through the love and admonitions of the Apostle he was again united as a living member with the church.

THE LATIN CROSS (Christ's Cross).

THE GREEK CROSS (Andrew's Cross).

Of the other Apostles tradition holds that *Andrew* brought the gospel to Scythia, *Philip* to Phrygia, *Bartholomew* to Armenia, *Thomas* to India, *Matthew* to Ethiopia, and *Simon of Cana* to

Mesopotamia. Faithfully they carried out their apostolic mission and seem (probably with the exception of Philip) to have died as martyrs.

b. The Persecutions of the Christians by the Pagans. The Growth of the Church.

8. **The Causes and Progress of the Persecutions.** It was not long before the Christians were subjected to the most bitter persecutions from the pagans. These were stirred up both by the Roman government and the heathen populace. The chief cause was the fact that the Christians led a godly life which the ungodly world could not bear (2 Tim. 3: 12). In addition to this there were various external causes. Of the Emperors and statesmen a few seem to have started the persecutions from cruelty and thirst for blood (e. g. Nero); but the greater number were actuated by political motives. They believed the state to be seriously threatened by a faction, that worked successfully for the overthrow of the religion upon which the Roman state was based, and that refused to bestow upon the Emperor the customary idolatrous veneration. The Christians were suspected of political conspiracies, for their devotional gatherings were secret meetings. The heathen populace detested the Christians as godless, for they had no images nor sacrifices; as immoral because of false reports, e. g. that their public worship was connected with licentiousness and child-murder; as dangerous to the state, for it was generally assumed that their apostasy from the old gods had brought upon the land the many calamities which then afflicted the various provinces of the Empire.

Under such circumstances a struggle for life and death between paganism and Christianity became inevitable.

The heathens, as a rule, resorted to outward violence; the Christians set against it an unflinching faith, a fearless confession, a self-sacrificing love, and a serene patience. The persecutions flamed up sometimes in special localities, sometimes throughout the whole Empire, and lasted with some interruptions to the beginning of the fourth century. Those that originated from the government were the most severe. Among them we notice especially that under Nero (A. D. 64–68), which was the first and includes among its victims the Apostles Paul and Peter (about 67 A. D.); that under Decius (about 250 A. D.) which was the first general one and was especially directed against the elders of the Church; that under Diocletian (A. D. 303–311) which was the last and the severest of all. In this persecution the fury was directed not only against the persons of the Christians but also against their sacred writings.

Already by the law of the twelve tables, the exercise of strange religious worship was prohibited in the Roman Empire. Afterwards the conquered nations were for political reasons allowed to retain their own mode of divine worship. Even the Jews enjoyed the same privilege. The Christians were likewise favored as long as they were looked upon by the Roman statesmen as a sect of the Jewish religion. But when the distinctive difference between Christianity and the Jewish faith was understood, Christianity was no longer protected by any law whatever. When in addition to this Christianity was not contented with being tolerated by the side of the other religions, but stood forth with unmistakable claims of being the only religion that would prevail, it is easily understood that even the noblest of the Emperors who were devoted to religion and state either winked at persecutions or even stirred them up. They could the more easily be induced to do so, since their natural prejudice against the Christians was kept up and strengthened by the heathen priests, manufacturers and venders of images of the gods, and others who thought their private interests were threatened by the progress of Christianity.

Under the Emperor Nero Rome was devastated in the year 64 by

a conflagration. The Emperor was generally charged with being its originator. To shield himself he accused the Christians and raged against them with wanton cruelty. Some were sewed into skins of wild beasts and were thrown to the dogs to be torn to pieces. Others were covered with wax and tar, impaled in the imperial gardens and set on fire, to serve as torches during the nightly carousals.

Domitian (A. D. 81—96) condemned out of avarice a number of Christians and confiscated their property. He had heard about the kingdom of Christ and feared that this might become a dangerous rival. Accordingly he caused two of the relatives of Christ in the flesh to be brought to Rome. When he, however, saw their callous hands, he became convinced that they busied themselves with other things than political cabals.

Trajan (A. D. 98–117) renewed an old law against secret societies. Among such organizations the Christian churches were numbered. Many Christians who continued steadfast in their faith were thus put to death by the governor of Bithynia, Pliny the Younger. When, however, the number of the accused became very great, and it was manifest from the most searching trials that the Christians were not guilty of any civil or moral offence, and they could only be charged, according to Pliny, with a stubborn superstition, the governor hesitated and asked for further orders from the Emperor. The latter replied that the Christians ought not to be hunted up, nor ought any attention be paid to anonymous accusations, but capital punishment ought to be inflicted upon every one who was openly accused of being a Christian and who refused to sacrifice to the gods. The persecution extended as far as Syria and Palestine. It was here that the aged bishop Simeon of Jerusalem, successor of James the Just and one of the relatives of Christ, suffered death by crucifixion (A. D. 107). Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of the Apostles, suffered martyrdom at this time.

Under Hadrian (A. D. 117—138) and Antoninus Pius (A. D. 138—161) the Christians enjoyed rest. But with the accession of Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161—180) conditions changed. The Emperor Aurelius who in other respects was a mild and just ruler, was carried away by his prejudices against Christianity, and in his stoic wisdom he was too haughty to acquaint himself with a doctrine that had been preached by a few poor Galilean fishermen, and, therefore, he allowed the fury of the heathen people to vent itself

upon the adherents of this faith. The persecutions took a new form by the detective system of hunting out the Christians and compelling them by cruel torture to deny Christ. Thus the sufferings of the Church were increased, but the courage of the faithful confessors of Christ celebrated new triumphs. In Rome Justin Martyr fell a victim to the hatred of the philosophers. In Gaul and Asia Minor the persecutions raged the fiercest. (Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, won the martyr's crown during this period.) He died with the declaration that he would not deny the Saviour, whom he had served for 86 years, and from whom he had received nothing but benefactions.)

When Marcus Aurelius was no more, the lot of the Christians became somewhat endurable. This condition continued during a part of the reign of Septimus Severus (A. D. 193—211). This Emperor to begin with showed himself well-disposed towards the Christians. The cause of this seems to have been the fact that he had been cured from a severe illness through a Christian slave by the anointment with oil (Jas. 5: 14). Notwithstanding the favor of the Emperor the Christians in the various provinces had to suffer much from the fury of the common people, and from the rapacity of the governors. When the Emperor finally on account of political suspicions changed his mind, and in 202 issued an edict which on penalty of severe punishment forbade all conversion to Christianity, nothing more was needed to cause those who already were Christians to be exposed to most cruel sufferings. Their persecutors always found some means to retrench themselves behind the imperial edict.

From the time of this persecution we have accounts of several martyrs among whom two women Perpetua and Felicitas of Carthage are the best known. The former was a woman of high rank, the latter was a female slave. Both were catechumens, and had not yet received baptism when they were arrested. They remained, however, steadfast in their confession and were baptized in the midst of the most painful death. Perpetua had to sever many tender ties before she met death. Her father implored her from time to time with the most pathetic appeals that she should not bring dishonor upon him and his house; he reminded her of her young son who would be motherless after her departure. Even the judge begged her kindly to consider well her course, and sacrifice for the health of the Emperor, he would then set her free. All this kindness touched her deeply, yet she wavered not, but held to her confession

that she was a Christian. Finally she together with her friend Felicitas and a few other young Christians was condemned to be thrown before wild beasts.

The execution took place in the arena of the amphitheater in the presence of a curious mob. At that time the people found pleasure in seeing how human beings were torn to pieces by wild beasts, and especially did the heathen delight in beholding the sufferings of the hated Christians. For Perpetua and Felicitas a wild cow had been selected. Clothed in wide fluttering garments they were thrown before the cow which tossed and wounded them cruelly with her horns. The feeble women endured with great fortitude the pains thus caused, and it is said of Perpetua that she though seriously hurt sought to help her weaker sister in the faith, and that she adjusted her hair and clothing which had been disarranged so that she could meet death with a bearing that was indicative of joy instead of sorrow. At last they together with some other martyrs were brought forth to receive the finishing blow. Being faithful unto death they obtained the crown of life.

During the succeeding Emperors followed a time of quiet. Alexander Severus (A. D. 222—235) had placed an image of Christ beside his lares in his chapel, and the Emperor Philip the Arabian showed the Christians such great favors that it was generally believed that he had become a Christian. But after this calm came the persecution under Decius. This Emperor issued in 250 an edict which left to the Christians the alternative of denying Christ and sacrificing to the gods or being punished for high treason. The edict was carried out with all severity. Now it became manifest that the gain of the Church during the time of calm was not all genuine gold. The number of apostates was very great. Some sacrificed to the idols to save their lives, others bought from venal officers false certificates that they had sacrificed, others gave at the trial a false statement of their relations to Christianity. We must not, however, judge them who with the most horrible tortures awaiting them faltered and fell. Never before had the Christian Church been in such distress as then. So much the more must we esteem the fidelity of those who remained steadfast. Several escaped with their lives, after they had borne with patience the loss of their possessions, or fearful tortures, or banishment. They were called confessors. Others died as martyrs and sealed their faith with their life-blood. Some were induced by mistaken

enthusiasm to seek martyrdom. The persecution abated somewhat, but did not cease entirely until under Gallienus (par. 9). A prominent confessor from this time is the church father Origen (par. 19). Cyprian (par. 19) is one of the most noted martyrs.

Protected by the edict of Gallienus (par. 9) the Christians were for some 40 years shielded from persecutions. But after this the Church had to undergo its greatest sufferings. This happened under Diocletian (284—305). For a long time he had permitted the Christians to enjoy peace, but finally in 303 he yielded to the presentations af his associate Emperor Galerius, and issued an edict which forbade the assemblies of the Christians, and ordered their churches to be torn down, and their sacred writings to be burned. Even now many forsook their faith, and to the former classes of apostates was added one more, the traditors, or such as gave up the sacred writings in their possessions. Yet as a whole the Church showed itself better able to meet this persecution than that under Decius. This was greatly needed, for the heathen had set as their aim to wipe Christianity from the earth, and they mustered all their strength and sagacity to gain their object. They were no longer satisfied with putting the Christians to death by beheading, drowning, burning at the stake, and crucifying, but they tortured them to death slowly and by the most horrible methods. Even children were put to death. Thus it continued until Galerius by a severe illness had his eyes opened and gave command to discontinue all persecutions (A. D. 311). In his misery he even went so far as to call upon the Christians to pray both for him and the state. Perfect tranquillity, however, was not established immediately, as his associate Emperor Maximinus and his successors Maxentius and Licinius were eager devotees of the heathen worship, and consequently gladly saw that the Christians sighed under oppression and distress.

In Spain, Gaul, and Britain Constantius Chlorus, the associate Emperor of Diocletian, had protected the Christians as far as he could. The same policy was followed by his son and successor Constantine (from 306). In the wars which the latter carried on against Maxentius, and afterwards against Licinius, he found support among the Christians, and his victories led to the political predominance of Christianity over heathenism. Already in 312 and 313 he had accorded religious liberty to the Christians by edicts both from Rome and Milan.

Persecutions with the Platonic Celsus and Porphyrius. Λόγος ἀληθής by Celsus, known only from refutation by Origen. The prototype of infidelity. Porphyrius the representative of Neoplatonism, an attempt to reform heathenism. Most dangerous enemies, Platonic idea, oriental theosophy mixed with a few Christian

9. **The Effects of the Persecutions; the Growth of the Church.** The persecutions brought great distress upon the Christian Church, and separated from it many unstable minds, but they also contributed *to keep the Church free from unworthy members, and to force the Christians to unite more closely among themselves as well as with their head, Christ.* This brought about a most desirable development of the fruits of faith and charity. The persecutions also served as means *of spreading Christianity.* For when the Christians were persecuted at one place, they repaired to other localities and became everywhere sparks to light anew the gospel fire. The courage of the martyr-confessors did not fail to exert its influence, and many a heathen was thus won for a religion that bestowed peace and hope in the greatest adversities, yea, even in the worst agonies of death. Thus it proved "that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church." Paganism on the other hand developed during the persecutions its baser qualities and doomed itself to ruin. Consequently the Christian Church came out the stronger from every persecution, even from the severest ones. Thus the Emperor Gallienus was compelled (A. D. 260) to stop the persecution commenced under Decius by an edict, in which *he repealed the stringent laws of his predecessors against the Christians,* and after the Diocletian persecution it was no less political wisdom than conviction that induced Constantine to seek support among the Christians against his political rivals. When he became sole ruler, in 324, the persecutions ceased, and Christianity became a favored religion in the Roman Empire.

c. Constitution and Cultus.

10. **Church Officers.** To begin with the Apostles themselves had charge of the churches founded by them. Af-

terwards every well regulated church had a *government*, or *council of elders*, who in the New Testament are sometimes called *bishops* (superintendents), sometimes *presbyters*, i. e. elders, for they should be selected from the older and maturer members of the Church. Their official duties were, to have supervision over the Church, lead its services, and, in general, to manage its affairs.

Subsequently new offices followed. The care of the *sick and poor members* was assigned to special men, selected for this purpose, called *deacons* (servants). Later on they assisted in administering the sacraments. The care of sick and destitute women was given to *deaconesses.*

Shortly after apostolic times it becomes evident that in the council of elders in a congregation one member obtained authority over the others. This one was called *bishop*; the others retained the name *presbyters.* A presbyter's duty was henceforth to *administer the means of grace, and to exercise spiritual care of the souls.* A bishop could perform a presbyter's office, but had as special duties the following: *to be the principal leader of the Church; to be its delegate to the synods; to ordain and exercise supervision over the presbyters and deacons; and finally* (in the Occident) *to confirm those who were baptized* (par. 11). The *territory* of a bishop comprised generally a *city with the surrounding rural district*, corresponding in general to the Roman *community* (municipium).

The division of the Roman Empire into provinces gave rise to a new grade of officers. The bishop in the capital of a province very soon acquired ascendancy over the other bishops of the province and was called *metropolitan.* He had authority to *convene the provincial synods, to preside at their conventions, and to consecrate the bishops.* Still higher respect was paid to the bishop of certain cities (the so called "sedes apostolicæ"), where churches

had been founded by the Apostles (e. g. Jerusalem, Corinth, Ephesus), and such cities as had been centers for the dissemination of Christianity over the greater parts of the Roman Empire, especially Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria. Some of these bishops afterwards acquired the title and dignity of *patriarchs* (par. 23).

Beside the afore-named offices there were others of a more temporary character to which the Holy Ghost himself called and equipped certain persons. In the New Testament the occupants are named *prophets, evangelists, pastors,* and *teachers.* The prophets spoke the word according to divine inspiration. The evangelists seem to have been the helpers and followers of the Apostles, as well as traveling preachers and missionaries. Those who were named pastors and teachers either made only occasional visits to the churches, or, when they remained stationary for some time, used their special gifts to instruct and lead their fellow-Christians to a better comprehension of the gospel truths.

During this period, when the direct influence of the Spirit was so strong within the Church, there were also other free gifts which worked to the edification of the Church. This was especially the case, when the miraculous powers of the Spirit manifested themselves in the Church, either as *prophecy, healing,* or *speaking with tongues.* The Church could make use of these gifts, but it was necessary to examine them closely, so that every manifestation of the divine Spirit was rightly used and all false spirits were turned away (1 Thes. 5: 20—21).

The *development of the episcopal authority* was undoubtedly a slow one. In the council of elders (college of presbyters) some one must act as chairman at their meetings, and afterwards see that the decisions were published and carried out. Naturally such a trust was left to that member of the council who either because of long service or of personal qualities had a higher standing than the rest. In this way every one was accustomed to look upon such a person as the principal leader of the interests of the Church. From this position as first among his equals (primus inter pares) the step to real authority was not a long one.

The *difference in rank* between the bishop and the presbyter was steadily growing. The following conditions were favorable to it. To begin with the New Testament gospel ministry was compared

to the Old Testament priesthood. This view helped to create a strong distinction on the one hand between the ministry and the common people, and on the other hand between the different degrees within the ministry itself. Just as the tribe of Levi was separated from the other Israelites, and should in their behalf have charge of the divine ordinances, so the consecrated gospel minister was looked on as God's lot (kleros) and strictly separated from the other Christian people (laos, laici, lay-men). For the three degrees in the ministerial office a ready correspondence was found in the Levitical priesthood: the bishop was compared to the high-priest, the presbyters to the other priests, and the deacons to the Levites. Furthermore after the example of the Church father Cyprian the bishops were looked upon as the heirs to the apostolical office, which through the act of ordination was communicated from the one to the other (apostolical succession). The bishops thus stood forth as the pillars of the Church. Any particular difference among themselves was not yet allowed, nevertheless the bishop of Rome had the honorary rank as the first among his equals.

The province of the episcopal power was increased by the enlargement of the diocese. To begin with this consisted only of one congregation. But when the number of Christians had largely increased, it was thought expedient to separate this one church into several. All these were placed under the care of the bishop in the mother church. Here and there even in the rural districts independent churches with their own bishops had arisen. In such congregations no new bishops were elected after the departure of the first, and the church was generally placed under the supervision of the bishop in the nearest city. In this way his authority increased more and more.

The minor offices in the church were taken charge of by the *subdeacons*, who were the assistants of the deacons, *lectors*, who at public worship read the scripture selections and had charge of the sacred writings, *cantors*, who led the devotional singing, *door-keepers* (sextons), etc.

The early Christians were keenly sensible of the unity in Christ of all the believers, and of the destiny of the Church to gather unto itself the whole of redeemed mankind. From these facts were derived the strong efforts to keep the scattered parts of the Church together as one whole, not only in *faith* and *doctrine*, but also in *government* and *general organization*. Yet the era of the martyrs did

not find time to create a central legislative or executive authority for the whole Church, although several bishops in the city of Rome had already set forth their claims to ecclesiastical supremacy. Important preliminary work had, however, been carried on. To this belong the following: *in the hands of the bishop was laid a monarchial power over his congregation (or diocese); all the churches in the same province were held together by the metropolitan bishop and the principal synod which had charge of all the interests common to the churches of the province; certain constitutional principles prevailed throughout the entire Church.* These were either based upon *apostolical* authority, or upon the reputation of certain *distinguished church fathers* and *important synods.* The bishops conferred diligently with each other about the interests of the Church both by *written communications* and by interchange of *personal visits.* To this may be added the lively *intercommunication* between the different Christian congregations which was carried on both by itinerant preachers and others who traveled in their own interests. In this way the different churches had opportunity to exert the one upon the other an enlivening and hallowing influence, and so the confession of every Christian: *I believe in a Holy Catholic* (i. e. universal) *Church,* grew to become a living conviction.

11. **Admission into the Church** was by baptism. *Infant baptism* with sponsors occurs early, but naturally at this time *baptism of adults* (proselyte-baptism) was more in vogue. With adults a *long time of preparation* under the direction of a Christian teacher called *catechist* preceded baptism. During this instruction the candidates were called *catechumens* (i. e. those who are instructed). The preparation was designed both to impart *Christian knowledge* and to make the catechumens *accustomed to a Christian life.* Before baptism the candidate *renounced the devil and all his works* (i. e. idolatry), and the baptizer *conjured the evil spirit* (exorcism). The *candidates also confessed their faith* according to a certain formula previously imparted. The formulas used were somewhat different in the various churches and at different periods. From these formulas the Apostles' Creed was gradually developed.

The baptismal rite consisted of a threefold immersion in water into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Upon the sick affusion of water was used. After baptism followed anointing with oil (probably a symbol of the spiritual priesthood of the baptized), and laying on of hands (as a means for the outpouring of the Spirit). In the Occident these two acts were looked upon as confirming the baptism (confirmation), and was always performed by the bishop. The candidate for baptism was clothed in a white baptismal robe, the emblem of purity. The time for baptism was generally set for Saturday before *Easter*, *Pentecost*, or (in the Orient) *Epiphany* (par. 25).

A controversy arose about the middle of the third century, whether or not a person who had been baptized by a heterodox church should be baptized again, in case he asked to be received into the orthodox Church. To settle this question it was decided by the Council of Nicæa, in 325, that such a baptism should be *valid, provided it had been performed according to the institution of Christ*, and the candidate was received into the Church by the laying on of hands.

12. **Divine Worship.** To begin with the Christians attended the assemblies of the Jews both in the synagogues and the temple, but they had also their own worship, when they edified themselves by the doctrine of the Apostles, prayer, and breaking of bread (i. e. the Lord's Supper). Out of this twofold mode of divine worship grew afterwards the complete Christian service in two parts, that of the *catechumens* (missa catechumenorum), and that of the *faithful* (missa fidelium).

The *service of the catechumens* was accessible also to those not baptized; it partook of the nature of the service in the synagogue, and, like it comprised *scripture reading*,

singing, and *preaching*. During the early times the scripture lessons were taken from the Old Testament, but afterwards as soon as the *New Testament writings* became accessible, they either took the place of or were used by the side of the former. The *Psalms of David* were sung at worship, also Christian hymns as soon as such were composed.

The *service of the faithful* was accessible only to the baptized members of the Church, and was celebrated with *prayers*, *doxologies*, and the *Lord's Supper* as its climax. After communion the deacons carried the consecrated bread and wine to the sick and to prisoners.

At first there was held in connection with the Lord's Supper a love-feast at which the poor members of the Church were fed at the expense of the wealthier class. Both on account of abuses that arose and edicts of the state against secret gatherings these love-feasts were separated from the communion service, and were soon entirely abandoned. At the celebration of the Lord's Supper, however, free contributions continued both of the bread and wine necessary, and of means for the support of the poor. These contributions were called offerings. This very name was afterwards used for the communion itself, and helped to associate with it the conception of a sacrificial act.

As soon as the state of things had become somewhat fixed, the preaching was done by the bishop, a presbyter, or a deacon, but very seldom by persons having no ecclesiastical consecration. To begin with the discourses were very simple, rather expositions of scripture passages or exhortations than addresses, and were called homilies (conversations). In the Orient oratory very soon found its way into the sermons. In the wake of this art which was introduced from the forum and the popular assemblies followed quickly the objectionable custom of applauding the preacher.

For communion leavened bread was used, Judaizing sects alone

used unleavened. The wine was according to ancient custom mixed with water.

13. **Church Festivals.** During the first enthusiasm, and during times of persecution and distress the Christians assembled daily for mutual edification around the Word of God and the Lord's Supper. Later on certain days were set apart for meditating upon the great gospel truths, *the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ.* The festive days of the Church were of two kinds, weekly and annual.

Already in the time of the Apostles *Sunday* was observed as the day of the resurrection of our Lord. It was afterwards designated as a day of joy by praying in a standing position and omitting fasting. *Wednesday* commemorating the beginning of Christ's passion, and *Friday* the day of his death were days of sorrow, when the Christians fasted and prayed in a kneeling posture.

Of the annual Church festivals *Easter* and *Pentecost* are the oldest, both because they were an inheritance from the Old Testament and because of the great memories connected with them. Easter was celebrated as a solemn reminder of the death of Christ on the cross and of his resurrection. Before Easter a season was set aside for a quiet contemplation of the passion of Christ. During this time the Christian fasted every day, except Sunday. Originally this period was brief, but was afterwards fixed at forty days in accordance with Christ's fasting in the wilderness. The interval between Easter and Pentecost was one of continual joy, when communion was celebrated every day. The fortieth day after Easter was observed as the Ascension day of the Lord. Pentecost commemorated the outpouring of the Spirit and the birth of the Christian Church.

As to the time for celebrating Easter different opin-

ions existed. The custom of the Roman bishop, however, prevailed, that is to celebrate Easter on the first Sunday following the full moon after the vernal equinox. This custom was ratified by the Council of Nicæa, 325.

Sunday came to be the real sabbath of the week. It is self-evident that among the Christian Jews Saturday would also be observed. Within the Church of the Orient Saturday was held as a day of joy, when no fast would be held even during the forty days before Easter (Lent). Wednesday and Friday were "watch-days", when the warriors of Christ should especially be on their guard against their spiritual enemies and battle against them by fasting and prayer. The fast was either a total abstinence from all food (Wednesday and Friday till 3 or 6 o'clock P. M.), or an abstinence from more nourishing food as meat, eggs, etc. (during Lent).

The same day on which the Jews ate the Passover, or the 14 of Nisan, the churches of Asia Minor were accustomed to celebrate as the festival of the crucifixion, no matter what day of the week it came. The Western churches wished on the other hand to celebrate the memory of the death of Christ on Friday and that of his resurrection on the following Sunday. At the same time it was desirable to place this Christian festival as near the time of the Jewish Passover as possible. A Jewish month begins with the new moon. About the 14 of Nisan occurs the full moon, and this is always the first one after the vernal equinox. When thus the following Sunday was chosen as the day for the observance of Easter both objects were gained.

14. **Places of Worship.** At first the Christians held their services in *private houses* or *rented halls*. At the *graves* of the *martyrs* and other *Christians* they were also wont to assemble. This was particularly the case in those cities, where the Church had for its burials subterranean chambers, so called *crypts* or *catacombs*. Here they could quite safely come together during times of persecution. From the beginning of the third century we find also *separate church edifices*.

The custom of assembling at the graves of the dead arose from a desire to observe the days of the departure of the saints as their birthdays to a higher life and thus to establish a consciousness of the unity between the Church militant and the Church triumphant. Narratives from the lives of the martyrs were often read on occasions sacred to their memory, and thus the foundation was laid for the Christian legend.

A VIEW OF THE CATACOMBS

Crypts are subterranean places for sepulture of smaller area; catacombs comprise several connected vaults or halls. They consist of many winding passages or labyrinths, oftentimes several stories above each other; in the perpendicular walls recesses were cut the one above the other, and, after the corpse had been placed therein, they were closed up by masonry or hermetically sealed by stone slabs which generally bore inscriptions. How early the construction of these catacombs began is not known, but they were used as

burial places as late as the fourth century. About the middle of the eighth century they fell into decay and were forgotten. During the counter-reformation of the sixteenth century a new interest was awakened for the sacred relics from early times, and a new search was instituted in the subterranean burial-chambers. Now they have become a valuable source of information concerning the customs and manners of the early Church.

SHEPHERD WITH THE LAMB.

In the interior of the churches was found a table for the bread and wine and a desk from which the scripture lessons were read. Pictures in the churches were not tolerated, as they were forbidden in the decalogue. No scruples, however, were entertained against ornamenting separate rooms and the walls of the catacombs with symbols: e. g. a shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders, a dove, an anchor (hope), a lyre (doxology), a ship sailing towards heaven, and a fish. The latter was intended as a reminder both of the fishing for souls and of the communion in which the risen Saviour gives his flesh to eat, and lastly of Christ himself. The Greek name for fish (ἰχθύς) contains the initials of the words ἰησοῦς χριστός θεοῦ υἱος Σωτήρ, i. e. Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. Often a monogram was used which was formed from the two initials of Christ.

CHRIST'S MONOGRAM

d. Life and Discipline in the Church.

15. **Life within the Church.** Christianity made its entry into the world among nations already weak and effeminate. Nevertheless by its inherent spiritual power it called forth a religious enthusiasm during the persecutions and a moral strength which make this heroic age of the Church a model for all coming ages. The ready willingness of the Christians to suffer for their faith, and their eagerness for devotion in public worship have already been told. Their individual life was sanctified through prayer. They exercised themselves in self-denial and renunciation of the world. Not only from the heathen vices, but also from public amusements, dancing, and theatrical performances they stood aloof. Heathen science and art were dubious accomplishments in the eyes of many. By fasting and mortification of the body (asceticism) they sought to bring their carnal nature under the sway of the Spirit.

In strong contrast to heathen selfishness stands Christian charity. This manifested itself not only in the mutual aid and succor of the Christians which caused even the heathen to exclaim: "See, how the Christians love each other", but also in their willingness to aid the heathen, even their tormentors, when they were in any distress. Hospitality was counted as a sacred obligation. Many rich subjected themselves to voluntary poverty by giving away all their possessions to the poor and needy.

Under the protection of Christian love there arose a true family life in which woman rose to equality with man, the children received a Christian education, the slaves were often liberated or at least treated with kindness, and all felt that they were one in Christ.

The distress of the Church forced it to look forward with longing for the second coming of Christ, and this hope was cherished in the hearts of many, and encouraged them to perseverance and new exertions.

Yet the Church was not perfect. Already at this time false members were found as well as such as were lukewarm in their faith. Furthermore there arose quite early a false tendency, contrary to the gospel of Christ, to lay too great a stress on certain outward works, making them even meritorious before God. *Martyrdom* and *asceticism* were especially so considered (par. 29).

Prayer may be called the breath of the Christian life, and as this life was vigorous during the early days of the Church so prayer was the more diligent. The Christians were not bound to any certain hours for prayer, but it became a custom to pray at certain times of the day as morning and evening, also at meals. Many observed the Jewish hours of prayer at 9, 12 and 3 o'clock. Prayer was offered either in a standing or a kneeling position with hands lifted towards heaven, or stretched out so as to form a cross. The custom of folding the hands arose during the middle ages. To make the sign of a cross is a very old custom. Yet all these customs were only indicative of that which ought to take place in the soul. "Before one stretches his hands towards heaven, he must raise his soul thither, and before the eyes are directed heavenward, one must lift up his spirit to God." (Origen.)

Christian matrimony was subject to the Roman law. Yet quite early endeavors were made to give religious sanctity to it by the blessings of a bishop or presbyter. To strengthen themselves for their high calling the newly married partook of the holy communion. The engagement-ring, an inheritance from heathenism, was used as a symbol of matrimonial faithfulness.

Cremation was too suggestive of the fire that shall torment the unfaithful, therefore, it was soon exchanged for the Jewish custom of burying the dead. The body of the Christian should like a seed of grain be buried in the earth in due season to come fort as a new glorified body.

To prevent the abuse which impostors often made of the hospitality of the Christians, letters of recommendation were used.

These were issued by the elders and contained a certain mark of genuineness known only by the initiated.

16. **Church Discipline.** The Church exercised a very strict yet loving supervision over its members. If any evidences of unchristian life became manifest within it, a wholesome discipline was administered. By so doing the Church sought both to take away from those without all reasonable cause to blaspheme the Christian name, and as far as possible to preserve that purity and sanctity which should adorn it as the bride of Christ. There were various degrees of Church discipline (Matt. 18: 15–17; Tit. 3: 10) of which the severest was excommunication from the Church. Such punishment fell upon those who had caused public offence either by false doctrine or immoral life, also upon all apostates from Christianity.

When one who had been excommunicated asked to be received into the Church again and gave evidence that he was sorry for his sin, he was received back. But he had to prove the sincerity of his repentance by public penance. This took considerable time and consisted of several degrees (afterwards fixed at four) with which the penitent step by step was received back into communion with the Church.

At the time of Cyprian, about 250, church penance had become established. Each of the four degrees took sometimes a year. In the first degree the penitents (then called flentes) clothed in mourning had to stand in the church door and with tears ask both the elders and the congregation for forgiveness and reinstatement. In the second degree (audientes) they were allowed, at a certain place in the church, to listen to the scripture reading and the sermon. In the third they had permission to remain though in a kneeling posture (substrati) during the prayer which was offered for them. In the forth degree they took part in the entire worship, except communion which they, standing (consistentes), were only allowed to behold. To partake of the Lord's Supper they were allowed only

after the solemn reinstatement into the peace of the Church (restitutio in pacem) by absolution, laying on of hands, and the kiss of peace.

17. **Schismatic Tendencies.** Some were, indeed, found who would make the return to the Church easier for those under its ban, but many on the other hand urged still greater severity and demanded that the doors of the Church should for ever be shut to those who had once been cast out. Such a person should for the rest of his natural life remain a penitent and so be left to the mercy of God. Only in this way could the Church remain a *communion of saints.* When the Church had to reject such rigorism, all those who fought for the same would naturally place themselves in strong opposition to the Church, and in this way there arose schismatic tendencies within the Church as well as schismatic churches. Of these the best known are *Montanism* and *Donatism.*

a) *Montanism* is derived from Montanus of Phrygia, who had once been a heathen priest, and had been converted to Christianity and become a Christian teacher, in the middle of the second century. He gained many adherents, who in their leader saw the *promised comforter* (John 14: 16). Even the church father Tertullian (par. 19) among others embraced a modified view of this schismatic.

The leading thoughts in the doctrine of Montanus were: 1) The *kingdom of God develops gradually.* The Old Testament was its *child-hood*, with Christ and his Apostles it entered into its *period of youth*, through Montanus it was to be brought to its full *man-hood*, when the outpouring of the Spirit should be more abundant than ever before. 2) The *direct activity of the Spirit through supernatural gifts* especially *prophecy* was necessary for the Church.

3) The *perfecting of the kingdom of God*, which Montanus thought he should bring about, had no reference to *doctrine*, for this was perfect and given once for all, but to the *Christian life*. This he sought to raise to a higher state of purity by a severer church discipline and by certain ascetic regulations. He laid special stress upon fasts, celibacy, and martyrdom as leading to a higher degree of eternal bliss. 4) Shortly after the death of Montanus the Lord should return and establish the millennium, when Christ should visibly rule with his saints on earth (Chiliasm).

b) *Donatism* originated at Carthage, where many fanatic zealots led by a certain Donatus arose towards the close of the persecution under Diocletian. He urged that the Church should deal more rigorously with apostates, and first of all depose their newly elected bishop, who was accused of having delivered sacred writings to be burned. When their demands were set aside, they separated from the Church and formed distinct organizations. In vain did the leading men of the Church endeavor by persuasion to led them back again. Afterwards the government tried to suppress them by force, a very unwise measure, which was only partially justified by certain lawless acts on the part of the Donatists. Now they were seized by a fanatic hatred of both Church and state, and many of them united with roving bands of marauders (circumcelliones), who caused devastation by murder, fire, and pillage. Under the sway of the Vandals they were greatly diminished. The last remnant of them succumbed to the Arabs.

Besides demanding the purity of the Church the Donatists claimed that the *means of grace lose their effectiveness when they are administered by an apostate*, and that the Church and state should be separated.

e. Doctrine.

18. **The New Testament Canon.** The starting-point and fountain of Christian doctrine are the *sacred writings of the Old Testament* and the *apostolic communication*, oral and written. The latter is found in the collection of books which we call the New Testament. These books were all written before the year 100. Most of them widely known already in the middle of the second century and used at the Christian worship by the side of the Old Testament Canon. Those less known and, therefore, contested were few in number. Finally in the fourth century the Church gave its unaminous verdict regarding the authenticity of these writings, and thus towards the close of that century the *New Testament Canon* was fixed as we now have it.

The oral communication of the Apostles gave rise to *tradition*. This was to begin with the source of all Christian knowledge, but it soon became adulterated with many spurious additions. The more this was done, the more invaluable became the writings of the Apostles. By the side of these there appeared in the course of time a number of clandestine (apocryphal) writings which pretended to have their origin from the Apostles or other divinely inspired men. It now became necessary to separate the genuine from the spurious. Both the church fathers and the synodical conventions devoted themselves to this work, and separated from the Canon everything whose genuineness could not be established both upon internal and external evidences. With the Old Testament they were less critical and accepted generally the whole septuagint (i. e. the oldest Greek translation of the Old Testament), both its canonical and apocryphal books. The synods which have the greatest importance in establishing the Biblical Canon were held at Laodicea 360, Hippo Regius 393, and Carthage 397.

19. **Teachers of the Church.** The word which the Church had recieved must become deeper rooted and be made fruitful both in life and doctrine. The men who labored for the doctrinal development of the Church have es-

pecially been called *teachers of the Church* and are generally classed in three groups: *apostolic fathers*, *apologists*, and *church fathers*.

a) The *apostolic fathers*† were thought to have been the assistants of the Apostles or their disciples. One of them is named in the New Testament, namely *Barnabas*. Two others, *Ignatius* and *Polycarp* (par. 8) were distinguished bishops and martyrs of the second century. The writings that bear the names of the apostolic fathers bear testimony of Christian earnestness, although they are far inferior to the apostolic writings.

b) *Apologists* (defenders) were the Christian teachers who undertook to defend Christianity both against Jews and heathen by showing the injustice of the persecutions, the unequaled power of the Christian religion to regenerate and ennoble mankind, and by replying to charges of a philosophical nature. Foremost among these stands *Justin Martyr*. Many of the church fathers also wrote in defence of Christianity.

Justin Martyr was born at Neapolis (Sychem), Samaria, in the beginning of the second century. His parents were heathen, most likely of Greek birth. As they were wealthy, their gifted son could without restraint follow his desire to study philosophy under the most renowned teachers. He was, however, disappointed in many ways. A stoic boasted that he could show him the right way to wisdom and virtue, but he could not furnish him with any information about the existence of a God, and "without faith in God there is no virtue or truth." A Peripatetic (follower of Aristotle) asked too high a price for his instruction, but "he who agrees to sell truth for money proves thereby that to him money is worth more than truth." A Neo-Pythagorean required as necessary fundamental knowledge music, astronomy, and geometry, but "intellectual acquirements alone can not satisfy the heart." At last he came to a follower of Plato and here he at last thought that he would find the knowledge he thirsted for. Now he hoped to be able to penetrate into the secrets of the world of ideas and be enabled (in an ecstatic condition)

to behold God. His confidence was, however, soon shaken by an old Christian who persuaded him that human knowledge alone could never reveal the living God, and directed him at the same time to the divine revelation in the prophetic writings.

Now Justin had found the way to true knowledge. He searched the Scriptures, he received instruction from Christian teachers, he beheld the fortitude of the martyrs, and the pious life of the Christians, and came at last to the conclusion that the only "reliable and available philosophy" was found in the doctrine which the prophets and the Saviour announced by them had proclaimed. This doctrine alone revealed the "origin and design of everything" (i. e. God and eternal life), prevailed upon the sinner to repent, filled the soul of the believer with sweet consolation, and made it possible for every one to become perfect and happy, in as much as it imparted knowledge of God and his son Jesus Christ. His conviction was afterwards confirmed during his subsequent life in the Christian Church with which in his mature manhood he became united through baptism.

The philosopher's mantle Justin retained even as a Christian and went about in the world to proclaim Christianity as the only true philosophy. With undaunted courage he gave testimony of his faith in Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. In two apologies he sought to convince the Emperors how unjust and unreasonable were the persecutions against the Christians. In open debates he proved the truths of Christianity against the Cynic philosopher Crescens. The objections of the Jews he refuted in his dialogue with Tryphon, the Jew.

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm with which Justin embraced Christianity, he shows a certain weakness in his conception of Christian truth. Neither the depth of human depravity, nor the mysteries of redemption did he fathom sufficiently, but attributed rather to the human will very nearly an unimpaired strength to choose between good and evil, and he sees in Christ not so much the redeemer of the world as a new lawgiver who showed mankind the right way through its own earnest endeavors to gain righteousness. Yet he held steadfastly to the faith in God as the Father of the world, and in Christ as the Son of God, and it was his firm purpose to abide by the teachings of the Church in general. He has always been reckoned among the orthodox teachers of the Church.

It is quite natural that Justin through his dauntless confession should encounter the enmity of the heathen. During a visit to Rome he was accused by his enemies. Before the judge he confessed his faith with the same calm steadfastness as before and was as a matter of course sentenced to death. He became a martyr of the Lord about the year 166, and this name of honor has afterwards, in the history of the Church, been bestowed upon him.

c) The *church fathers fought against heresies* in the Church and have contributed to the development of the doctrinal tenets of the Church. They have been grouped in three schools or doctrinal tendencies: the *School of Asia Minor*, the *School of Alexandria*, and the *School of North Africa* (called also the Western School).

The *School of Asia Minor* laid equal stress upon a *sound doctrine* and *Christian life*. Its best known exponent is *Irenæus*, a disciple of Polycarp. He suffered martyrdom as bishop of Lyons, 202. The *School of Alexandria* laid particular stress upon Christianity as the *true wisdom* (γνῶσις). Its principal representatives were the two teachers at the catechetical School of Alexandria, *Clement* († about 220) and *Origen* († 254). *Christian faith* and *its manifestation in daily life* were the leading principles of the School of North Africa (the Western School). Among its leading men we find the presbyter *Tertullian* († about 220) and the bishop *Cyprian* († 258), both from Carthage.

Origen was born about the year 185 in Alexandria of Christian parents and received baptism while yet a child. He early developed a great love for learning.

In Alexandria, one of the centers of culture in that day, learned men were imparting instruction in Christianity in a more scientific form to catechumens and others who sought a thorough knowledge of the Christian faith. In this way arose the renowned *catechetical school*, so called because its teachers were catechists. At this school Origen received instruction from distinguished teachers, especially from the above named Clement.

When in 202 a persecution broke out in Alexandria, his father, Leonidas, was seized and cast into prison. In his eagerness to confess Christ, the young Origen would have shared his father's fate, had not his mother hidden his clothes to prevent his leaving home. He had to content himself with writing an encouraging letter to his father in which he exhorted him to remain steadfast. "Beware," he wrote among other things, "that you do not for our sake yield your convictions." Leonidas sealed his faith with his blood.

After the father's death the family possessions were confiscated, but Origen soon reached the age when with teaching and book-copying he could earn a livelihood for himself and give aid to the family. At eighteen years of age he became a teacher at the catechetical school of Alexandria, but feeling the need of a more thorough philosophical training, he sought the instruction of a renowned philosopher and gave a thorough study to the systems of Plato and other Greek philosophers.

Many distinguished persons, both Christians and heathen, became his disciples, and for some time he labored with unusual success not only as a teacher but also as a writer. During all this time he practiced the severest asceticism which sometimes assumed fantastic and unnatural forms.

At short intervals he visited various points of the Christian world. During such a visit in Palestine he was ordained as presbyter by two bishops residing there. This displeased the bishop of Alexandria to whose jurisdiction he belonged, and this circumstance together with other matters led to dissension between the two men. On this account Origen left Alexandria (about 230) and came to Cæsarea, then the capital of Palestine. A brilliant circle of young men here gathered about him, and for many years he was busily engaged as teacher and writer.

Having spent some time in Cappadocia, and in his latter years made several journeys to various synods to settle different theological questions, he was subjected to great indignities at the opening of the Decian persecution and was even put to torture. He died at Tyre shortly afterwards (about 254).

Origen had exerted a powerful influence during his life-time, and had twice communicated with members of the imperial family; but through his many writings he exerted a still greater influence after his death.

The works of Origen are so numerous that only a few are able to read all he has written, and this notwithstanding the fact that

at first he was very loth to become a writer. He had, however, a rich friend of high rank, Ambrosius by name, who was continually urging him to the work, and gave him liberal support. His friend placed at his disposal seven stenographers who relieved each other at fixed periods, and other persons who copied what the stenographers had taken down.

The greatest work of Origen upon which he labored with untiring zeal for many years is his *Hexapla*. In six columns he had arranged the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the translation of the septuagint together with several other Greek translations of the Old Testament. Of this great work there are at this time only fragments left.

He furthermore wrote commentaries to the greater part of the Old Testament and to most of the New Testament. Besides this he has given a scientific exposition of the fundamental points of the Christian faith. He is especially to be remembered as the one who wrote the most important apology of the Christian faith during this period. This work bears the title *Eight Books against Celsus*, a heathen writer of the second century who had attacked the Christian religion.

In his theological system Origen sought in a clever manner to unite the teachings of the Bible with Greek philosophy, especially the Platonic. In order to do this he interpreted the Bible in an allegorical (figurative) way. In contrast to the false gnosis (i. e. deeper knowledge) he placed the true knowledge in order to win over to Christianity the heathen of a philosophical turn of mind. He considered it as the highest accomplishment for a theologian to be able with his reason to grasp the Christian faith, and he endeavored himself to present Christianity as the highest form of philosophy.

Of the particular points in his magnificent system we will quote only a few. The creation of the world had taken place from eternity. The human souls were also in existence from eternity, but because of a fall into sin in the spirit world they are united at birth with a material body to be purged and purified. This purification and chastisement will continue after death, especially with the impenitent. All the fallen spirits will sooner or later be purged from sin and return to God (1 Cor. 15: 28). Origen thus taught a restitution of all things (ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων), but he intimates that on account of the freedom of the will the blessed spirits

might again fall and thus a new purification begin, and so on indefinitely.

Origen was deeply conscious of the ethical value of Christianity, and the loftiness of the Christian doctrine, yet, as is indicated above, in elaborating his system he made use of Platonic expressions, and in his Bible exposition he was too free. During his life as well as after his death he was strongly decried as a heretic. Notwithstanding this, he will always be commended as one of the most *accomplished* and *large-hearted* of our Church fathers.

Tertullian was one of the most remarkable men of the early Church, and he may with propriety be called the *Father of Latin Theology and of the Latin Church Language*. Of the circumstances of his life we know very little, but his character is minutely portrayed in his writings.

He was born about the middle of the second century, in Carthage, where his father was a Roman centurion. He received a good education, and devoted himself at first to the study of oratory and Roman jurisprudence. His writings give everywhere evidence that he practiced law in his younger days.

It was at a mature age that Tertullian became a Christian. Most likely it was the steadfastness of the martyrs and the spiritual superiority of the Christians that induced him to abandon paganism. His temperament was fiery and full of force, and, therefore, undoubtedly his conversion was like that of the Apostle Paul sudden and decisive. With glowing zeal he embraced the new faith. We soon find him as a presbyter at Carthage.

Shortly after his conversion he embraced Montanism (par. 17) which at this time gained many adherents also in the West. Probably he was touched by the moral strictness of the Montanists. The fact that Tertullian embraced Montanism was of the greatest importance for the further spread and influence of this doctrine. For he both brought clearness into their confused ideas and removed their wildest extravagancies. Yet we find even in him a certain one-sidedness. He died at an advanced age between the years 220 and 240.

The writings of Tertullian are many, but not very voluminous. In the first place he wrote several apologetical works, comprising a bold and powerful defence of Christianity against both Jews and pagans. In these works he emphasizes the fact that Christianity is founded in the very nature of man and thus satisfies the deepest cravings of the human soul.

Furthermore he wrote several works which treat of the Christian faith, but are at the same time *polemical essays* against heretics, especially the gnostics. Tertullian is the first one that plainly teaches the doctrine of *original sin* and in this connection also the view of the origin of the human soul which has been called *Traducianism*. He taught that the soul like the body is by transmission inherited by the children from their parents.

He also wrote a number of treatises about *Christian life*. In all of these he insists upon the strictest asceticism.

Against his opponents he was merciless in his writings and often resorted to ridicule and satire. His language is quick, concise, and strong, sometimes hard and obscure. All his writings bear evidence of his true and masterly way of presenting facts, and bear the stamp of deep moral earnestness, a contempt — based upon the social conditions of the times — for everything earthly, and an enthusiastic eagerness to suffer everything for Christ.

Toward the bishop of Rome, Tertullian assumed a very independent attitude, and from his Montanistic points of view he disapproved of the customs of the Church, while at the same time he defended its doctrine against the heretics.

Cyprian was born in North Africa about the year 200. In the schools of Carthage he received a most careful education. Having finished his studies he became a teacher of rhetoric. Practical adaptation and a considerable fortune soon procured for him a respectable position, and his life was according to heathen standards above reproach.

But peace of soul he did not know, until at the age of 45 he became a Christian. His baptism made a lasting impression on him, and soon after he distributed the greater part of his possessions among the poor. Furthermore he inflicted upon himself severe penance and devoted himself zealously to the study of the Bible and the writings of several of the church fathers, especially Tertullian.

He was soon made deacon, and afterwards presbyter. In the year 248 he was chosen bishop at Carthage, of which responsibility he modestly sought to be relieved.

With special ardor he undertook to reform the much neglected church discipline. By so doing he incurred the bitter enmity of such church members as during the outward peace had become lukewarm in their faith and had lapsed into a worldly life. Then very unexpectedly the terrible persecution under Decius broke out. From

its very beginning the life of Cyprian was in danger. The heathen populace demanded his blood (Cyprianum ad leonem!). But he thought it his duty to flee, which was sharply criticised by his fierce adversaries.

From his hiding-place he was in the mean time untiring in his efforts to serve his congregation. He wrote letter upon letter full of advice, admonition, and exhortation. He sent money to the poor and dispatched several persons who in his absence should direct the affairs of his charge.

After an absence of more than a year he returned to Carthage. He found his fold in the greatest confusion. According to an old custom such church members as had steadfastly confessed Christ during the persecution (Confessors) had the right to recommend for readmission such apostates as desired to be again received into the Church. By aid of such a letter of recommendation from a confessor many an apostate forced himself into the Church without having given evidence of any sincere repentance. This abuse was of course highly detrimental to a strict church discipline.

At a synod in Carthage Cyprian carried the decision through that no apostate should be at once received again into the fellowship of the Church. Only in the face of immediate death should such a backslider be reinstalled without previous penance. On the other hand it was decided to show leniency to the so-called *Libellatici*, i. e. those who had not sacrificed to the idols but had procured (false) vouchers from the heathen authorities that they had done so. Fallen church officers could be received again into the Church, but they could never regain their office.

Thus Cyprian showed himself zealous for a strict church discipline. But he opposed most firmly that undue rigorism which at this time was advocated by various church teachers, namely, that on no condition should a fallen member be again taken back into the Church.

Cyprian became involved in the controversy about baptism. He acknowledged only *one* Church, the Catholic (i. e. universal), *one* baptism, that which had been performed by the Church. Bishop *Stephen* of Rome, however, acknowledged every baptism as genuine, when it had been administered according to the command of Christ, even if a heretic had administered the same. Accordingly when a person that had been baptized by a heterodox party was to be received into the Church, it was customary at Rome to confirm his

baptism by the laying on of hands, while at Carthage such a person was baptized anew, or rather according to Cyprian's view baptized for the first time, as the first baptism was null and void. The opinion which Stephen held finally prevailed throughout the Church.

In the year 257 another persecution was inaugurated, and Cyprian was exiled to a desert place about a day's journey from Carthage. From this place he led, as far as circumstances allowed, during a whole year, the affairs of his church. Then by an imperial edict ordering all elders to be put to death, Cyprian was arrested. He spurned all who advised him to flee and manifested great boldness before the judge. When the verdict was rendered that he should be beheaded with the sword, he only said, "God be praised." In company with many faithful friends and a great concourse of people he was conducted to an open place planted with trees outside the city. Here he knelt and prayed, whereupon the executioner with a trembling hand gave him the fatal blow. This happened in September, 258.

*The writings of Cyprian consist chiefly of letters to churches and individuals. In these letters as well as in his whole official capacity, he stands forth as a zealous, earnest, self-denying, and faithful bishop. For his office he demanded respect and veneration and was in every respect a church-prince in its noblest sense. Like Tertullian he showed considerable independence in his relation to the bishop of Rome and did not acknowledge the growing demands of superiority of the latter over the other bishops.

20. **Heretical Doctrines.** These were of two kinds: those who, while they retained *Jewish* or *heathen fundamental principles*, sought to acquire certain Christian ideas; and those who, in general, stood upon a Christian foundation, but were erring in *some important point of the Christian faith.* To the former class belong the *Ebionites*, the *Gnostics*, and the *Manichæans;* to the latter the different forms of *Monarchianism.*

a) *Heresy of the Ebionites.* Notwithstanding the decision of the Apostolic Council and the clear statements of the Apostle Paul, many Christian Jews were unable to comprehend that Christianity was something essentially new, and simply wished to reduce it to a new form of

the Jewish faith. They, therefore, *considered an observance of the Mosaic law to be a necessary condition of salvation* both for *Jews* and *Gentiles;* they held *Christ to be a mere man,* who at his baptism was endowed with divine powers; and they *denied the apostolic authority of Paul.* After the destruction of Jerusalem, they left the Church and formed an organization of their own which was soon broken up.

b) *Gnosticism.* Some of the newly converted found the gospel doctrine too simple, and sought, therefore, either the aid of *Oriental religious systems* (Zoroaster and Buddha) or by *Alexandrian philosophy* (Neo-Platonism) to come to a more thorough knowledge (gnosis, hence gnosticism) both in the essence of religion in general, and especially in the mysteries of redemption. That gnosticism which gathered its wisdom principally from the Oriental religions has been called the *Syrian,* the other the *Alexandrian.* Gnosticism was widespread in the Roman Empire and reached its height about the year 150. It appeared only as a *system of teaching,* and formed no *church organization.*

Gnosticism was in its fundamental character a heathen dualism, into which the Christian idea of redemption was inserted: 1) It recognizes two eternal principles, *God* and *Matter.* 2) God is believed to be impersonal, i. e. is without *consciousness* and *will,* nevertheless he is *unity* and *the source of all personal life.* 3) The personal essences (æons) emanate by a natural necessity from God and constitute beings in a descending series of perfection. Together they form the world of *light* and *fullness* (pleroma). 4) *Matter* is either looked upon as a *Chaos destitute* of *life* and *being* (Alexandrian) or as a *kingdom animated* and *ruled* by *Satan* (Syrian). 5) *The visible world* is composed of *matter* and the *lower æons* which either because of their *weakness have sunk down into matter* (Alex-

andrian) or *been captured by matter* during its struggle against light (Syrian). From these elements the world has been formed by the demiurg (world-former), the highest of the æons fettered by matter. This being is identical with Jehovah, the God of the Jews. The Creation of the world bound the æons so much the stronger to matter and was, therefore, an evil act. The reason for this act was deemed to be either ignorance or jealousy on the part of the demiurg. 6) all that which comes from the world of æons was good. Matter is evil. The depravity of man did consequently not consist in a perverted tendency of his will, but in his *union with a material body.* 7) *Purification from sin* and *reunion with the world of light* can be attained by a strict asceticism, tending toward the mortification of the body. Some, indeed, thought that wild orgies would bring the same result. 8) In order to *lead* and *encourage mankind* by *example* and *doctrine* in their work of purification and thus *help them* to *regain the realms of light*, the *highest æon*, *Christ*, descended to earth. His body was not real, for then he too would have been sinful, but only a show (docetism). All his deeds, his sufferings, his death, and resurrection were as a matter of course only apparent, and were only intended to present to mankind an example, not to bring about an atonement.

Gnoticism is thus an extremely fantastic religious view. It contains, however, several elements by which it is able to fascinate poetical natures. To this belongs the strong contrast between the spirit striving upward towards the light and the body which by its weight holds him down to the earth and keeps him shut up as in a prison. Whoever has learned to look upon human relations in the light of Christianity admits that the body is from the beginning not intended to be a hindrance to man's spiritual life, but it has become so only by man's abuse of his free will. He knows also that freedom from evil is gained by an inward regeneration and a sanctifica-

tion of both soul and body, and that in this way man is prepared to put on a new body which is no longer a hindrance, but a fitting organ for his immortal spirit.

c) *Manichæism* derives its name from Mani or Manichæus, a certain Persian, who lived about the year 270. This heretical system resembles closely the Syrian gnosticism, but it has a stronger developed *dualism*. Mani himself claimed to be the *Comforter* promised by Christ. Manichæism became a widespread sect, which here and there maintained its existence even into the *Middle Ages*.

Mani was born in Babylon in the beginning of the third century. His parents belonged to distinguished Persian families. His father was deeply interested in religious questions and exerted most likely a great influence upon his son in the same direction. At about 28 years of age, Mani became a religious reformer in the new Persian kingdom just then established. He, however, at once became involved in a controversy with the powerful Magi and had for a long time to live in exile. Finally at the instigation of the Magi he was crucified about the year 276.

The religious system of Mani is in its foundamental principles taken from the oriental religions and shows traces of its origin in a glowing imagination. We quote some of the characteristic features of the same.

The father of light and his twelve æons form the world of light. In opposition to this stands the kingdom of darkness which is ruled by Satan and his demons. Tempted by the splendor of the kingdom of light, Satan made an attack upon it. God then placed an æon, "the mother of light", as frontier-guard and defender of the kingdom of light. She gave birth to "ideal man," who with the aid of the five pure elements, fire, light, water, air, and ether went to battle against the demons, but was vanquished and taken captive. God then sent as an aid another æon, "the living spirit," but too late, for a part of ideal man (Jesus patibilis) had already been swallowed up by the powers of darkness. But another part (Jesus impatibilis) was rescued and removed to the sun. Of the mixture which thus arose from light and darkness God caused the living spirit to form the visible world, in order that the captive light by degrees might be strengthened and set free. To prevent this Satan

created after his own image as well as that of ideal man the first couple. In man, therefore, the two fundamental antagonistic principles are brought together; a good and an evil spirit struggle for supremacy over him; the former is drawn toward light, the latter toward darkness. The supremacy of the former is to be furthered by asceticism, by subduing the carnal lusts, and by the strictest abstinence possible from all sensual pleasures.

The work of purification both in nature and in human life is directed and aided by the ideal man, Christ, dwelling in the sun, and the living spirit, dwelling in the ether. The demons endeavor by the Jewish and heathen religions to chain the human souls still stronger to the kingdom of darkness. Christ descended to the earth in an assumed body, to lead the spirits of light to freedom by his doctrine. The Apostles misunderstood him and perverted his doctrine. Mani as the promised Paraclete (Comforter) brought truth again into light.

In the government Mani was himself the head of his Church. Under him stood 12 apostles, 72 bishops, and an indefinite number of presbyters and deacons. The Church comprised two classes: catechumens, or hearers (auditores), and the elect, or perfect. The latter were bound to the strictest asceticism, to celibacy, to abstinence from animal food and all manual labor. They should eat only vegetable food, especially bread and oil, which were considered as the purest bearers of the light enslaved in matter. They were supported by the catechumens. Baptism (with oil) communion (without wine) belonged to the secret worship of the elect. The souls of the perfect passed to the realm of light immediately after death; but the souls of the imperfect had to continue a process of purification in new bodies, before they could enter the state of bliss.

d) **Monarchianism.** In direct opposition to the errors just mentioned the Church has, especially by the Apostles' Creed, given expression to its belief in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. It was soon felt to be necessary to explain by a logical process the relation of the trinity to the unity of God. In opposition to the heathen polytheism it was necessary to defend the unity even to the denial of the trinity. In this way Monarchianism arose during the third century.

What is common to all Monarchianism is the belief that in the deity there is *only one person*. This is further explained in two ways: either that the *Father is alone thought to be God* and the *Son* and *Spirit only divine powers* (dynamism), or that the *Father*, *Son* and *Spirit* are *different manifestations in regular sequence of one and the same God* (modalism).

A representative of Dynamism was Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, deposed for heresy and unchristian life (272). Modalism was developed by Sabellius, presbyter of Ptolemais of Cyrenaica about 250. A preparation for Modalism was Patripassianism, or the doctrine that Jesus who suffered and died for man was the same as the Father. These views were denounced by several church fathers, prominent among whom was Dionysius, bishop of Rome.

B. THE PERIOD OF DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT.

(A. D. 324—600).

a. The Victory of Christianity over Paganism. The Constitution and Cultus of the Church.

21. **The Downfall of Paganism in the Roman Empire.** The Emperor Constantine had taken the Christians under his protection against his competitors for the throne. When he became sole ruler (324), he *favored Christianity strongly, but did not persecute the pagans*. He moved his court from Rome, which was the stronghold of Paganism, to Byzantium or Constantinople (330). He was baptized on his death-bed (337). His sons, of whom Constantius ruled the longest, did not follow the wise policy of their father, but *resorted to violent measures for the suppression of*

paganism. This was, however, not approved by many of the church fathers.

During the reign of Julian the Apostate (361—363) a change took place. Led by an aversion to a religion which had not restrained his predecessors from cruelties to his nearest relatives, and by an enthusiastic devotion to the past he sought to revive *Græco-Roman paganism in a new form*. Upon all who believed or simulated belief in the old gods he heaped tokens of his favor; the Christians were not violently persecuted, but they were in every way ignored and even insulted. The reaction was short-lived. It only served to show that paganism had lost its vital strength and was doomed to go under.

All the following Emperors placed themselves on the side of Christianity. Theodosius the Great declared, in 392, all heathen sacrifices to be high treason, and after Justinian I., in 529, had closed the school of philosophy in Athens, paganism had lost its last support in the Roman world.

22. **The Church and State.** During this period the Church became a *state Church*, a change which, indeed, was not accomplished by a single stroke, but by a gradual process. The new conditions made it possible for the Church to exert a *many-sided influence in civil matters*, but at the same time the Church was placed in a state of dependence upon the *civil authorities* which was not always beneficial. The Emperor now became the protector of the Church. As such he was to guard its outward tranquillity, but too often he showed a great desire to manage its inner affairs as well. This he could the more easily do as the *boundary lines between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were not so sharply drawn*. It was generally conceded that the Emperor should *convene the Ecumenical Councils, sanction their decisions* and *ratify the appointments to higher ecclesiastical offices*.

The Church received one by one all the privileges that had belonged to the religious institutions of old Rome and several new ones besides. Thus it secured the right to *receive legacies* and was protected in the possession of donations of various kinds. Church property was exempt from many of the levies that were otherwise imposed upon landed property. The *Christian Churches* also obtained the *privilege of asylum*.

For the clergy ecclesiastical tribunals were established having jurisdiction over them in all cases, except offences outside of their office. These tribunals had the right in certain cases (e.g. in divorce cases and wills or testaments) to judge also between laymen.

23. **The Clergy.** More than ever before the chasm now widens between the ordained servants of the Church, who were looked upon as God's inheritance (clerus) and the other people, known as laymen. The former were considered as separated from the latter not only by their official capacity, but even by higher religious and moral gifts and an *indelible character*, which according to the common view was imparted through ordination.

Among the clergy themselves there was gradually developed a *hierarchical distinction*. Certain bishops were accorded the *dignity of patriarchs*, namely the bishops of *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria* (at the Council of Nicæa, 325), of *Constantinople* (at the Council held there, 381), and of *Jerusalem* (at the Council of Chalcedon, 451). The patriarchs were to sustain the same relation to the metropolitan bishops as the latter sustained to the other bishops. The bishop of Rome never accepted the title of patriarch, yet strove the more openly for the supreme authority over the whole Church. His aspirations were, indeed, strongly opposed, especially by the patriarch of Constantinople, but his authority

gradually gained ground. Among those who did the most to establish papal authority we notice Leo the Great (440—461) and Gregory the Great (590—604).

Toward the outward unity of the Church the *patriarchate*, the growing *papal power*, the *ecumenical councils*, in which all the bishops were represented, and the *imperial authority*, all contributed.

In outward matters the clergy began to distinguish themselves from the laymen by their mode of dress and by the tonsure. The tonsure was first used by the monks, after the manner of the penitents of former times, but subsequently it was practiced also by the priests. It was intended to be a token of an inward devotion to God and consisted in the shaving of the head, either the front part (tonsura Pauli), or the whole head, or the crown of the head, leaving a wreath of hair all around, which was a symbol of Christ's crown of thorns. The last named, the so called tonsura Petri, became the most prevalent within the Roman Catholic Church.

The unmarried state, or celibacy, had already during the era of the martyrs been looked upon as something specially meritorious. The monks were bound to celibacy by their vow of chastity. Soon it was strongly urged that celibacy should be obligatory also upon the other clergy, but the time was not yet ripe for legislation on this subject. According to universal opinion the unmarried state was considered more becoming to a pastor of the Church, and to marry after ordination was looked upon as highly improper.

The lower clergy were appointed by the bishop with the consent of the congregation. The choice of bishops was made by the clergy and the people. Yet the influence of the common people in the choice soon became a mere formality.

Gregory I., called **the Great,** descended from a family of senators in Rome and was born there between the years 540 and 550. His mother is reputed to have been a very pious woman. While a youth he studied jurisprudence, but at the same time he refreshed himself with the study of St. Augustine's writings and those of other church fathers. At an early age he was made imperial prefect of Rome, but soon abdicated the office. Within him there arose a great struggle. The plain and unaffected man soon found himself tempted to pride because of his high social position, and in order to put an end at once to this struggle, he suddenly withdrew to a

cloister which he had prepared within his own house. His property he devoted to the use of the cloisters.

In the convent he discharged his ascetic duties in the most rigorous manner. From his quiet retreat in the cloister he was soon called by the bishop of Rome, was ordained a deacon, and sent as an ambassador to the imperial court of Constantinople. After a stay of six years there, he returned to Rome and was soon chosen abbot of the cloister which he had founded.

Some time afterwards he saw, in the market-place of Rome, a number of Anglo-Saxon youths, who were to be sold as slaves. He became interested in them and resolved to go to England as a missionary. In company with a number of other monks he was already on his way thither, when he was called back by the bishop of Rome. When in 590 the bishop died, Gregory was unanimously chosen by the clergy, senate, and people to fill the vacant place. Though he tried in every possible way to withdraw, he was finally compelled to accept the office.

The times were troubled, when Gregory took charge of the most influential bishopric of the West. Famine and epidemics devastated Rome. The Lombards threatened from without; and from the Emperor in the remote Constantinople very little help could be expected. In addition to this the Church was torn up by internal dissensions, and a deep-seated moral corruption prevailed. Gregory had a delicate and frail constitution, yet his courage and strength for his arduous labors were kept up by his firm faith in the Roman episcopacy as destined by Providence to lead and control the nations in the West. In him the strength of the old Roman spirit in ruling and organizing was revived. In every direction he made his influence felt. For the reestablishment of church discipline, so much neglected of late, he labored with great zeal and success. The Lombards he reconciled. The possessions of the Church he caused to be carefully managed and devoted the increased income to the feeding of the poor, and the ransom of slaves and captives taken in war.

Against the patriarch of Constantinople, who assumed the title of Ecumenical Patriarch, he entered a sharp protest. From the very beginning of his administration Gregory had called himself the "servant of the servants of God" (servus servorum Dei).

His Anglo-Saxons he did not forget, although he was not able to go to them himself as missionary. In his place he sent, in 596,

St. Augustine, a monk of the Benedictine order, together with about forty other monks to king Ethelbert of Kent. This king was married to a Christian princess from France. The work of converting the Anglo-Saxons progressed without any serious difficulties. Already the following year Augustine could report that the king had been baptized, and that ten thousand Anglo-Saxons had followed his example.

With Gregory there begins in many respects a new era for the Roman Church, and in him we can even now trace some of the characteristics of the Middle Ages. He laid that solid foundation on which subsequent popes built. Through his great reputation and untiring efforts he vastly extended the influence of the Roman episcopal see to France, England, Spain, and Africa, and it became more and more the custom in ecclesiastical controversies to appeal to the pope for arbitration.

The monastic orders were strongly supported by Gregory. For his priests he wrote a book defining their duties (regula pastoralis). He labored zealously to give solemnity and splendor to the church service, especially to the eucharistic mass. In so doing he laid the foundation of the order of service which is still used in the Catholic Church.

The doctrine of purgatory, of which we find traces even among the older church fathers, Gregory gave a prominent place in the doctrinal system of the Church, and propagated the opinion that the torments of the dead in purgatory could be ameliorated and shortened by good works and supplications on the part of their relatives. This could especially be done by celebrating the mass of the eucharist, which according to the view of Gregory was a real although a bloodless repetition of the sacrifice which Christ made on the cross.

In Gregory the old Roman spirit manifests itself by shrewd political measures, which we must call timely, although they can not be defended from a Christian standpoint. He wrote flattering letters to an emperor that had murdered his predecessor and his family, also to a Frankish princess who had many deeds of violence on her conscience. It is, however, uncertain whether he was well enough informed of such transgressions. The missionaries that were sent to England he urged to proceed slowly with the heathen, not destroy the temples of the idols, but to transform them to Christian churches; to give the heathen sacrificial feasts the character of

Christian festivals to the glory of God; to put relics in the place of idols, etc. The same man, on the other hand, ordered a bishop of Sardinia to cast all the heathen remaining there into prison and cause them to undergo torture.

Gregory's health had long been poor, and he spent the last days of his life on the sick-bed. His sufferings, which at times were very severe, he bore with great fortitude and patience. He died in 604.

24. **Divine Worship.** During this period a change took place in the order of public worship from that of the era of the martyrs to that of the Middle Ages. The strict separation of the two parts of public worship was no longer a necessity, as the citizens of the state also generally belonged to the Church. In addition to this the Eucharist was looked upon by the whole Church as a sacrifice and as such drew the attention of the faithful, everything else became subordinate to this act. Both circumstances together caused the service of the catechumens to be looked upon as an introduction to the mass of the Eucharist, which was all the time in course of development, until, through Gregory the Great, it obtained that character which it retained throughout the Middle Ages.

In the Eastern Church, however, the service of the catechumens and, especially the sermon, was for a long time of greater importance than in the Western.

St. Ambrose labored for the elevation of *church music*, and introduced a lively, rhythmical, congregational *singing*. When by and by this degenerated Gregory the Great caused trained choruses to render the singing at public worship. Christian hymns were now composed in a richer measure than ever before. Besides St. Ambrose and Gregory the Great, who distinguished themselves in this sphere, there also flourished at this time the celebrated Spanish composer Prudentius.

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The true worship was marred by the idolatrous adoration of martyrs and saints, and especially of the Virgin Mary. Relics and portraits of Christ and the saints were highly esteemed and were worshiped by devout genuflections. Pilgrimages were made to holy places and festivals were instituted in honor of angels and saints. This idolatrous tendency is explained by the fact that many of the newly converted nations had not yet been able to abandon their heathen beliefs entirely, and, therefore, they sought and easily found a compensation for their favorite heathen deities in the hosts of saints and angels worshiped in the Church.

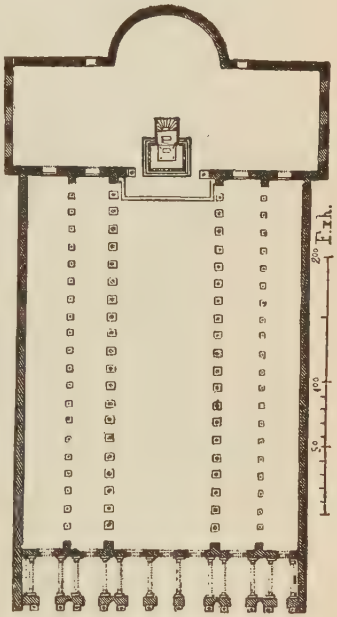
25. **Church Festivals.** Besides Easter and Pentecost, the Eastern Church had during the era of the martyrs celebrated January 6 as the Epiphany festival. This was done in commemoration of the baptism of Christ, only in a few churches in commemoration of his birth. In the West, Christmas Day, December 25, had since the middle of the fourth century been observed as the festival of the nativity of Christ. This soon became the custom in the whole Church, and our Epiphany was afterwards observed in memory of the manifestation of Christ to the Wise Men of the East, as the Saviour also of the Gentiles. Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost became the principal festivals of the Church, and around them the festivals of the Church year (in the West) were grouped.

Among the festivals that were celebrated in honor of the Virgin Mary, the angels, and the saints we notice especially the Day of Annunciation, March 25, John the Baptist's Day, June 24, and St. Stephen's Day, December 26. Other festival days of that era are now observed on the Sunday following the date when they were originally celebrated. Such days are Candlemas,

Feb. 2, and St. Michael's Day, Sept. 29. All Saints' Day was not generally introduced before the Middle Ages.

The name Candlemas (festum candelarum) was given to the day of the purification of the Virgin Mary partly because it was celebrated by processions with burning wax candles, partly because the candles which were subsequently used at the services were then consecrated. At the opening of the Middle Ages the festival of Circumcision was observed eight days after Christmas. Two centuries later this day was made New Year's Day.

During the days preceding the forty days of Lent the worldly Christians endeavored to make up for what they lost by the subsequent self-denials in sumptuous repasts and comical sports. Thus the Carnevals arose.

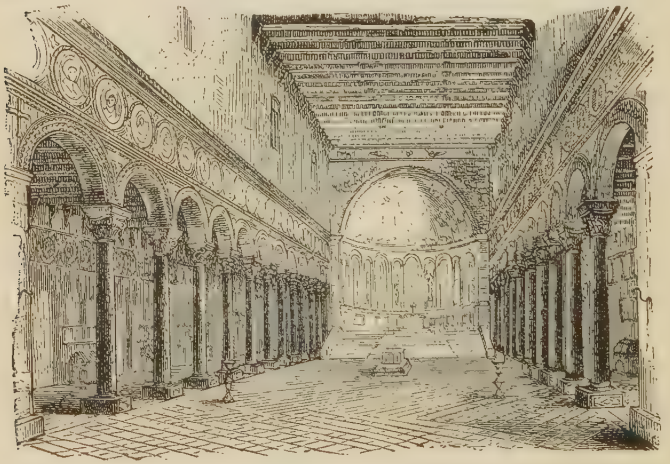


PLAN OF A BASILICA.

26. **Church Edifices.** Magnificent church edifices were erected. The older ones resembled the buildings used by the Greeks and Romans as places for commerce and general assemblies, and were like these, called *basilicas*. Afterwards there arose in the East the Byzantine Cupola style. The most beautiful memorial of this style of architecture is the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople.

In front of the Church lay the outer court and in this there was a well or artificial fountain, the water of which was used for ablutions and for making the sign of the cross. Upon entering the

church we first come into a vestibule. Here the penitents and the catechumens had their places. Further toward the front was the nave or main body of the church. In the basilica this was divided into three or five apartments (naves) running lengthwise, separated from each other by rows of pillars. The center nave was the widest and generally the highest; a wall with window-openings was resting on each of the rows of pillars. These pillars were connected by round arches for the support of the walls. Furthest in front was the choir or chancel which formed the transept. The approach to this was by means of stairs, as the floor of the choir lay higher



INTERIOR OF A BASILICA
(S. Apollinare in Ravenna)

than that of the other parts of the church. Right in front of the main part or nave of the church, the choir projected with a semicircular recess (apsis). The center nave, the choir (transept), and the apsis formed a Roman cross. In the choir the bishop had his throne, and the other priests their places. The assembly of believers took their places in the center nave. A basilica is easily recognized by its horizontal ceiling with exposed beams.

In churches of the Byzantine style of architecture the columns were so arranged that the plan of the church formed a Greek cross

EXTERIOR OF A CUPOLA CHURCH
(The Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople.)

with all four arms of equal length. Above the center of the church there arose a majestic cupola, a symbol af the vault of the firmament. This was often surrounded by smaller cupolas over the transepts. These were again offset by semi-domes (half cupolas).

In the choir stood the altar. Furthest in front in the center nave stood the reading-desk (ambon), from which the scripture passages of the day were read. The sermon was delivered either from the choir balustrade (cancelli), from the ambon, or from some other place in the center nave. The bishop sometimes preached from his throne. Our present pulpit is only the old reading-desk raised to a higher level.

Art had now entered the service of the Church, and it adorned the edifices, particularly the choir with a redundancy of gildings, paintings, and sculptures (especially images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Apostles). This was the more easily done since the faithful were liberal in their gifts to the sanctuaries, and the rich vied with each other in erecting costly church edifices and ornamenting them with all the splendor of the age.

b. The Life.

27. **The Influence of the Church upon the Life.** Through its new relation to the state the Church was able to exert a powerful influence everywhere upon all moral and social relations. The mode of viewing life was entirely changed. A higher grade of morals was introduced both in the legislation, administration of justice, and common usages. Heathen customs such as exposure of infants, immoral plays and the like were abolished. The true worth of man was acknowledged, slavery was restricted, matrimony obtained greater sanctity, and Sunday-rest was enjoined by law.

Two means were used by the Church to bring to maturity in faith and practice those who had placed themselves under her influence: the *catechumenate* and the *penance*.

The catechumenate had its origin in the previous period of the Church, but it was during this second

period that it came to its full development. It was of great value during an age, when men were tempted to seek admission into the Church for temporal advantages. In order to receive the rite of baptism it was necessary for the candidate to acquire in the school of the catechumens Christian ways of thinking as well as acting. In the early days it was principally adults that were baptized. For during the reign of Constantine the Christians formed a minority of the population in the Roman Empire; furthermore it had become customary because of an erroneous opinion of the effect of this sacrament to postpone the rite of baptism to as late a date as possible, even to the death-bed. Gradually conditions changed; toward the close of the second period the Church had received into its fold nearly all the citizens of the state. Infant baptism now became prevalent. At the same time the catechumenate steadily lost its former importance.

Through penance the Church endeavored to exert its influence over its baptized members. The Church could no longer exercise its former rigorous discipline, therefore, the public penance was never carried out. In its place *private penance* was introduced. This, however, was not fully developed before the Middle Ages, although it was strongly advocated by many of the church fathers.

The catechumenate generally covered a period of not less than two years for each individual. It was divided into three sections or courses. The first had for its aim to communicate to the catechumens the most general ideas of a personal God and man's dependence on him. It lasted but a short time. The second course gave instruction in the particular truths of Christianity. The greatest stress was laid on the history of redemption. This course required the longest time. To the third course, which lasted only one or two weeks, only candidates for baptism were admitted. They received the formulated creed and the Lord's Prayer which together

with the sacraments constituted the mysteries of the Church. These were accessible only to the baptized members of the Church and such as were about to become members.

Great stress was laid on the sincerity of a person's conversion. It should be voluntary and well considered. When a person made known his intentions to become a Christian, he was not received at once, but inquiries were made as to his motives for such a step. A brief historical outline of the "Kingdom of Heaven" was put into his hands. If the motive was a true one, and the person after becoming acquainted with the nature of the Kingdom of God, still continued in his determination to become a member of this Kingdom, he was received among the catechumens. From this time he bore the name of Christian. Even admission into the highest course of the catechumenate was made upon the application of the catechumen. Thus it often happened that many catechumens remained in the second course longer than was customary, even during a greater part of their life.

The admission into the first course of the catechumenate was sealed by the sign of the cross; into the second be laying on of hands. When the catechumens made application to the third course, that of the candidates for baptism, they were required to give their names to be entered in the record of members.

During the catechumenate the young Christians were also introduced into the devotional life of the Church. It was their privilege as well as duty to be present at the service of the catechumens (*Missa catechumenorum*) and they should well consider the truths they had heard. They were also permitted to be present during the prayers that the Church at the beginning of *Missa fidelium* offered for them. With the candidates for baptism were held special examinations (scrutinia), when they solemnly renounced the devil, his ways and works, and the exorcist conjured the unclean spirit to depart from them — acts which together with the confession of faith took place just before the baptismal act.

To facilitate this act there were built in close proximity to the church baptismal chapels with large water basins into which the candidates descended. The white robes in which they were clothed were worn during the week following baptism.

When the rite of confirmation followed immediately upon baptism, the candidate partook together with the congregation of the sacrament of the altar. Otherwise he had to wait until after confirmation.

28. **Conditions within the Church.** Christianity continued even now to show its sanctifying and regenerating power. The great changes it wrought in the social life of the times as well as the noble, Christian characters so numerous in this age testify to this fact. Besides the many distinguished church fathers were found many men and women in humble station (e. g. the mother of Chrysostom and the mother of Augustine) strong in faith, love, and self-denial. The numerous benevolent institutions that were founded for the aid of the poor and the sick bear beautiful testimony to the power of Christian love within the Church.

Many circumstances, however, conduced to lower the standard of the Christian life. Since the confession of Christianity no longer occasioned outward suffering and distress, but on the contrary became a necessary requirement for full citizenship, it is evident that the number of nominal Christians would increase to an alarming degree. When, furthermore, the ecclesiastical offices offered large salaries and high distinction, it became impossible even to exclude from them persons of a worldly mind who sought only their own good, not that of the Church. As a consequence the Christian life in the Church began to lose its tone and vigor, and the unsound tendencies that manifested themselves even during the era of the martyrs now became more and more alarming.

Wordly life and corrupt morals found their way into all classes of society; more and more confidence was placed in the intercession of saints, outward church service, and good works. The concern for pure doctrine lost itself in those passionate and petty quarrels that threatened completely to quench all Christian love. The decline went on step by step. While the Church in the fourth century inspired great hopes, at the end of this period it truly merited the chastisement which befell it in the West, in a milder form, through

the barbarian migrations, and in the East, in a more terrible form, through the rise and spread of Islam.

29. **Hermits and Monks.** Piety assumed a peculiar form in the life of the hermits and monks. Both classes sought to withdraw from the world and its vanities in order to devote themselves more fully to spiritual things. They laid great stress on the mortification of the body by means of fasts and other ascetic practices and sought by prayer and contemplation a mystic union with the divine.

The hermits lived secluded not only from the world, but also from each other, in the deep solitudes of deserts and wastes. Most renowned among them was St. Anthony of Thebes in Egypt, who died in the year 356 at the age of 105 years. He and others like him, notwithstanding their eccentricities, stand forth as heroes in self-denial, devotion to God, and love to mankind. But with many others, who only imitated the true hermits, the defects of hermit-life, such as spiritual pride, indolence, and uncurbed self-will, soon became manifest. To overcome such defects, hermit associations were formed. The first one of these was organized on the island of Tabennæ, in the Nile, by Pachomius († 348) thus forming a transition from the hermit to the monastic life.

The monks (*μοναχοί*) lived in seclusion from the world, but in close fellowship with each other. Their abodes were called cloisters. At the head of each cloister stood an abbot. The monks were bound to *obedience*, *chastity* (to live unmarried), and *poverty* (to renounce all possession of private property). Their time should be divided between devotional exercises and light manual labor. Many women also withdrew from the world and led lives simular to that of the monks. They were called

nuns. For their benefit nunneries were established and placed under the direction of abbesses.

Contemplation and monastic life are pre-eminently characteristic of the East, and this part of the Empire was rapidly filled with cloisters, where the monks soon sank into gross ignorance and idleness. But also in the West monastic life found many warm supporters, and cloisters were multiplied here too. St. Benedict of Nursia arose as the reformer of the life in the cloisters. A. D. 529 he founded Monte Cassino in Campania, Italy, which for a long time became the model for most of the cloisters in the West. The order that he established was named after him the *Benedictine Order*. In his regulations great stress was laid upon the employment of the monks in *manual labor* (agriculture, gardening, sloyd) and *studies*.

Many, indeed, entered monastic life from sinister motives (vanity, indolence, unwillingness to perform military duty, etc.) and thus caused its rapid decline. But, on the other hand, a great number of the monks were pious, industrious, and self-denying men, and through them the convents became a great blessing, especially during the migrations and the early part of the Middle Ages. During these times of brutality and violence they afforded a refuge and a home for the persecuted and oppressed. Within their peaceful walls classic learning and literature were preserved, and schools were founded where the young received such instruction as the age could afford. Through the influence of the inmates of the convents the warlike nations learned to cherish and respect peaceful occupations. Waste and barren lands were changed by their industry into fertile fields, and about the convents villages arose, which soon grew into cities. The convents also contrib-

uted to the spread of Christianity. From them the missionary efforts went forth which finally brought the whole Teutonic race into the folds of the Church.

The chief causes of monastic and hermit life were on the one hand that utter disregard for the body and the undue importance placed upon asceticism which had entered into the Christian conception, on the other hand the fear of contamination from the worldly life that surrounded the Christians in the heathen world. This form of piety had already begun to manifest itself during the foregoing era and had existed even before both among the Jews (the Essenes) and the Gentiles (the Therapeutics in Egypt).

The greatest extremists in asceticism were the stylites or pillar-saints. The first and most renowned among them was Simeon Stylites, who lived near Antioch during the fifth century. This remarkable man had already as a boy of thirteen been strongly impressed by Christianity and had upon the advice of his Christian teachers devoted himself to an ascetic life first in the cloisters, afterwards as a hermit. Finally he took up his abode on a stone-pillar, which he time and again caused to be built higher, so as to be nearer heaven. At last the pillar was about sixty feet high. On this he spent more than thirty years in a standing posture, surrounded by a railing which neither allowed him to sit nor lie down. He spent most of his time in devotional exercises. He took but little sleep, and only during certain hours of the day, between 3 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon, could he be induced to speak to the multitudes that gathered at the foot of the pillar. The visitors brought him food which he hoisted by means of a rope. He is said to have inured himself so far to privation and hunger that he literally observed the forty days' fast during Lent.

This strange form of piety found great admirers in its day. The fame of the pillar saint spread far and wide, and great multitudes made pilgrimages to his place of abode. The nomads of the desert honored him as a supernatural being and gathered around him to receive his benediction. Great numbers of them were induced by him to receive baptism. Even emperors asked his advice in ecclesiastical matters, and prominent church fathers bestowed on him their admiration.

While it cannot be denied that Simeon's piety was much perverted, yet many of his eccentricities may be justified by the conditions of the times. The theory that he was actuated wholly or

chiefly by spiritual pride is not supported by the accounts we have of him. "Simeon is a coin of an uncommon kind", says Theodoretus. With him such a life might have been prompted by true piety. The same cannot be said about his many imitators. On the minds of the western people saints of this kind made very little impression, and the only attempt there made to imitate him was promptly stopped.

In the early stages of his life, St. Benedict of Nursia reminds us of Simeon the Stylite, but not so in his later days. Like Simeon, Benedict early (at 14 years of age) withdrew from his associates to live a life devoted to God, accompanied by the servant who had taken care of him in his childhood; but when her reports of the boy's sanctity drew crowds of curious people around him, he left her and went deeper into the wilderness. In his wanderings he found a pious monk to whom he communicated his purpose to become a hermit. The monk urged him to carry out his purpose, showed him a cave where he could live unnoticed, and promised to provide him with the necessaries of life. Benedict spent three years in this solitude. It was a period of continual exercise in prayer, meditation, and mortification of evil desires. But this was only to be a preparation for that great work which he was destined to carry out for the good of his fellowmen.

Some shepherds found him and through them his hiding place was made known to the people of the neighborhood. Many flocked around him to see and hear him. The monks in a neighboring cloister came and requested him to become their abbot. As he well knew their excesses, he yielded to their request only after a long hesitation. They soon became tired of him and the strict discipline he attempted to introduce. They are said to have tried to poison him, but by some accident the attempt failed. Benedict then left the cloister and again retired into the wilderness.

Many young men now gathered around him. He decided to found cloisters after a new plan and with stricter discipline than had hitherto been practiced. The first building soon became inadequate, and he was compelled to found new ones. Finally twelve cloisters had thus arisen with twelve monks in each. For all these institutions Benedict was a sort of abbot superior. Thus seventeen years were spent. During this time Benedict had acquired sufficient experience to found an independent order.

But even this pious and earnest man had his enemies, who did not refrain from using the vilest means to destroy the prosperous

institutions which had grown up under his fostering care. He, therefore, resolved to leave the place and to go with a few of his most intimate friends to the secluded Mount Cassino in Campania, in Southern Italy. Here heathenism still prevailed, and on the mountain there still stood a temple sacred to Apollo. Reverence for the personality of Benedict and the power of his preaching soon

THE CLOISTER OF MONTE CASSINO.

converted the heathen to the Christian faith. The temple he caused to be torn down and founded on its site the famous convent of Monte Cassino.

The convent regulations of Benedict were not intended to develop only a onesided ascetic life. He advised frugality in food and drink, but he also warned against so weakening the body by fasting and vigils as to unfit one for engaging in useful work. He

knew also that a monk had other enemies to overcome than his sensuality. Pride and self-will seemed to him equally dangerous. Against these sins he placed that absolute obedience that a monk owes his abbot as a most efficient help. He laid great stress upon charity and benevolence toward his fellowmen. He would not have his monks, as the custom was in the East, to work only for their own support, but they should also be ready to render service to others.

Little did Benedict foresee the world-wide influence his order was destined to exert. He had never aimed at making his establishment a power in the world at large. He had simply intended it to be a place of refuge for all who sought to withdraw from the world to live a quiet life with God. There were schools within the convents, but they were originally intended for the novices, i. e. for such as had applied for entrance to the convent. Before such admission could be granted them they were placed on probation for one year. Literary and scientific pursuits were not introduced by Benedict, but by Cassiodorus, who had served as secretary under the Ostrogothic king, but had afterwards associated himself with the monks of Monte Cassino (538). The earnest life of faith and love fostered in these convents spread light and warmth to all their surrondings, and it may be truthfully said that no other establishment did so much to maintain Christian faith and culture in the world as the Benedictine order during its best days.

Having finished his work, Benedict fell asleep in the midst of his disciples, 543. His last act was a prayer, commending his soul to his heavenly Father.

c. The Doctrine.

30. **The Conditions for the Development of Doctrine.** During the past centuries the Church had gradually and with ever increasing clearness appropriated the truths of Christian revelation. Now there arose a positive demand for reason to penetrate these truths and to formulate them in definite language. The Church was in many respects well prepared for such work. From the ancient Greeks she had received the means afforded

by culture; a keen interest in doctrinal questions prevailed within the Church; and a number of distinguished church fathers arose, equally renowned for learning and penetration, and for Christian fervor and spirituality. These church fathers may be grouped in three schools. One of these, the *Western School*, had retained the same practical character as during the previous period, and was now represented by such men as *Ambrose*, bishop of Milan, *Jerome*, a monk in Bethlehem and translator of the Vulgate version, the authorized bible of the Roman Catholic Church († 420), *Augustine* (par. 33), and the bishops of Rome, *Leo* the Great and *Gregory* the Great. The *Alexandrian School* still believed in an allegorical exposition of the Scriptures and manifested a tendency to unite contraries in a mystic unity. To this class we reckon the renowned church historian Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine († 340) and Athanasius (par. 31). The *Antiochian School* had arisen in place of that of Asia Minor. The members of this school adhered to the literal interpretation of the bible, and strove to acquire a clear conception of doctrinal questions, and in the consciousness to keep contraries distinct. Most renowned among them is the venerable patriarch Chrysostom († 407).

When human reason endeavors to penetrate the mysterious depths of Christian truth, differences of opinion will necessarily arise. Such was the case now. The differences of opinion met each other in sharp doctrinal controversies. Into these mingled, sadly enough, human passions, intrigues, and pride, but at the same time a great zeal for doctrinal purity and steadfastness in Christian faith became manifest. The doctrinal questions under consideration were *the Doctrine of the Trinity;*

of the *two Natures in the Person of Christ*, of *Human Depravity and Divine Grace in Man's Conversion.*

Distinguished representatives of the Alexandrian school were the three great Cappadocian church fathers. Among these the most renowned was Basil († 379), bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia. He won distinction not only for his ability and learning, his piety and untiring activity in the service of the Church, but equally so for his self-denial and disinterested devotion to his fellowmen. To be able to support a hospital for the afflicted, he spent his days in poverty and privation. At his side we find his faithful friend, the resolute defender of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, Gregory of Nazianzus, and also his younger brother, the profound theologian Gregory of Nyzza.

The Antiochian school also included the excellent exegetical writer Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia (350—429) and his disciples, Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (390—457), and Ibas, bishop of Edessa. Against the first named and his writings, as well as a few of the works of the two last named, the Fifth Ecumenical Council, of Constantinople, 553, at the instigation of Emperor Justinian, hurled an anathema. The Emperor did this hoping thereby to win over the Monophysites to the Church, but soon found himself deceived. His measure caused new controversies to arise within the Church, which continued long after his death.

St. Ambrose was born about the year 340 in the city of Treves. His father was governor-general of Gaul. After his father's death the family removed to Rome, and here young Ambrose received a good education. Like many other gifted young men at that time he studied jurisprudence and oratory to prepare himself for the higher offices in the state. While yet a youth, he was appointed governor of a part of Northern Italy and was stationed at Milan.

When, in 374, a new bishop was to be elected, a bitter feud arose between the Catholic and the Arian factions. Ambrose, in his official capacity as governor, was present and conseled moderation and unity. At this juncture a child's voice was suddenly heard crying, "Ambrose Bishop" (Ambrosius episcopus). This was regarded by the people as a voice from God, and all present hailed with joy the highly esteemed governor as their bishop. In vain did he decline this honor, alleging that he had never held any ecclesiastical office, was not even baptized, but was only a catechumen.

He was forced to yield, was baptized, and after eight days, was consecrated bishop.

With great zeal did he enter upon the duties of his new office, and especially did he strive to acquire the necessary knowledge. Most of his wealth he gave to the poor. He entirely changed his mode of life and willingly subjected himself to the severest asceticism.

He lived in the midst of troubled and stormy times. The contest between Catholicism and Arianism was still undecided in Italy. Ambrose was not intolerant. In one of his works he says: "We will endeavor to persuade our opponents; we will pray and weep before the Lord. We desire not to smite, but to heal." But when the government interfered in behalf of Arianism, he boldly opposed the measure, and by his great prestige and resolute bearing, he contributed not a little to the final victory of Catholicism. Thus, for instance an empress of the Arian faith sought by all means in her power to induce him to surrender to the Arians a certain church in Milan, but without success. He did not even yield to force. By his great personality he even won over to his side the soldiers who had been sent out to coerce him.

In the same resolute manner he afterwards opposed the powerful Emperor Theodosius I. In the year 390 his military governor in Thessalonica had been put to death by a mob. Upon the intercession of Ambrose and several other bishops, Theodosius had promised to be lenient to the city. Upon the advice of others, the Emperor, however, soon changed his mind and caused his soldiers to take the most cruel revenge. When on a certain occasion a great number of the inhabitants of the city were assembled in the amphitheater to witness the races, he caused the place to be surrounded by his soldiers, who then entered and brutally massacred without distinction thousands of both men and women.

When Theodosius shortly afterwards came to Milan, Ambrose at first withdrew to the country, whence he sent a most earnest and affectionate letter to the Emperor, pointing out his cruelty and exhorting him to show his penitence by public penance, emphatically declaring that, before this was done, he could not in the Emperor's presence celebrate the Lord's Supper. Theodosius was greatly moved. He laid aside his costly ornaments, publicly confessed his guilt, and humbly asked forgiveness. For St. Ambrose he ever afterwards felt the greatest respect, as one who had had the courage to tell him a wholesome truth.

Ambrose took great pains with his sermons, and is regarded as the greatest pulpit orator in the West during the early period of the Church. He also labored to introduce a better liturgy for public worship, and wrote several doxologies and hymns (among these the Te Deum). He introduced more vigorous church singing, which by its responses appealed more strongly to the people, whose active participation in the singing was also secured.

Ambrose died in Milan on Good Friday, A. D. 397. All Italy mourned him. His works are numerous and mostly of a practical nature. He is especially to be remembered as the leader of the Western Church at a time of great commotion and unrest.

Chrysostom was one of the foremost champions of truth in the early Church. His real name was John. The name of Chrysostom, meaning Golden Mouth, was given him on account of his unrivalled eloquence.

He was born 347 in Antioch, where his father held a high military position. His mother, Anthusa, was a pious woman, who after the early death of his father bestowed her utmost care upon the education of her only son. She was so confident of the steadfastness of her son in the Christian faith that she intrusted his secular education to the renowned heathen teacher and orator Libanius. He soon became the foremost pupil of this famous teacher. He devoted himself especially to jurisprudence. The profession of law did not, however, appeal to him, and he soon abandoned it for a higher calling.

For three years he studied under the bishop of his native city and then received baptism. He would now have preferred to withdraw from the world to live a strict ascetic life, but upon his mother's entreaty he abandoned the thought at least for the present. He was then appointed bible-reader (the lowest office in the Church). After his mother's death he was free to follow his own inclination, and joined a brotherhood of monks, whose abode was the mountain regions near Antioch. There he spent six years, occupied with prayer, bible study, pious meditations, and manual labor. Thus he prepared himself for his great life-work.

In the year 380, he returned to Antioch, was ordained deacon, and, six years later, presbyter. Now commenced his brilliant career as pulpit orator. For nearly twelve years he continued his work as the second to the bishop in the great congregation, which possibly may have numbered more than one hundred thousand mem-

bers. His duties he discharged with great zeal and superior ability and became widely known for his eloquent sermons.

Eutropius, a favorite of the Emperor Arcadius, had on a centain occasion heard Chrysostom preach at Antioch, and upon his recommendation Chrysostom was called to Constantinople, and was there consecrated bishop and patriarch in the beginning of the year 398. Here he held a truly influential, but at the same time difficult and perilous, position. Of a simple and ascetic life, of unflinching courage, and unaccustomed to intrigues, he was now placed between a despotic court with its caprices on the one hand, and a worldly clergy and a profligate populace on the other. In addition to this, the Arians, who had until recently been the ruling party, were very influential in the higher circles and gave him much trouble. He may at times have been a little too rash and imprudent in his words and actions.

He labored, however, with great zeal and energy in the field, to which he had been called. Among other things he worked for the spread of Christianity among the Goths, with whom the Eastern Empire at that time stood in the closest relation. For the Gothic mercenary soldiers in Constantinople he caused special services to be held in their own language.

Before long the relations between him and Eutropius became strained. The latter, a haughty and despotic upstart, would not listen to the admonitions of Chrysostom, but on the contrary demanded obedience and submission from him. As the heathen temples had formerly been places of refuge for the persecuted, so were the Christian churches now. By an imperial edict, dictated by Eutropius, the churches were deprived of this privilege, and many an unfortunate victim was torn with violence from the altar to which he had fled for protection.

But soon the tide turned. Overthrown by the Goths Eutropius himself fled to the Cathedral church in Constantinople to save his life. Here Chrysostom found him the following Sunday. Before an immense concourse of people, that had hastened thither to witness so rare a spectacle, he delivered a powerful sermon on "*The Vanity of Vanities*", which served at once as a strong rebuke to the fallen courtier, a warning to the people, and an appeal for mercy on behalf of the unfortunate man. When the soldiers afterwards sought by force to carry him away, Chrysostom protected him at the peril of his own life. The privilege of asylum for the churches he would maintain at any cost.

A more formidable enemy arose against him in the arrogant bishop Theophilus of Alexandria. This man persecuted mercilessly a number of monks who were adherents of the teaching of Origen. They fled to Constantinople and were kindly received by Chrysostom, who, however, did not share in their belief. By this he brought upon himself the hatred of Theophilus. Through his instigation Chrysostom was deposed without sufficient cause by a meagerly attended synod held at Chalcedon and was afterwards banished by the Emperor. He had hardly left the capital, when an earthquake spread terror and consternation on every hand, and the threats of the populace so terrified the court that Chrysostom was speedily recalled and with great demonstrations of joy was welcomed back by the people.

A few months later the Empress Eudoxia caused a statue of silver to be erected in her honor. Chrysostom censured in a sermon the idolatrous honors and the wild orgies that had taken place at the unveiling of the statue. This aroused the anger of the Empress against him. On the day of John the Baptist he is said to have exclaimed in his sermon: "Again Herodias rages, again she demands the head of John the Baptist on a charger." Many times before the Empress had been stung by his sharp rebukes. Now the measure was heaped. Another synod declared him deposed for the second time, and in 404 he was exiled to a small town on the frontiers of Armenia. Even here he sought by numerous writings to work for the edification and spiritual welfare of his Church.

The intercession of the Western Emperor and the bishop of Rome only resulted in his banishment to a still more distant place, near the eastern shore of the Black Sea. By the troublesome journey thither his last strength was exhausted. He died, in Sept. 407, in a small chapel near the road, before he had reached the sea. His last words were: "*God be praised for all things.*" These words had been his motto in life.

A later emperor, son of Eudoxia, about thirty years afterwards, brought his remains to Constantinople, where they were laid to rest with great ceremony in the Church of the Apostles.

As an expositor of Scripture, Chrysostom belongs to the school of Antioch. He was, however, pre-eminently a preacher. There are over a thousand of his sermons still extant. They are, it is true, not of classic simplicity, but rather full of oriental rhetoric and pompousness, yet they show, viewed from the age to which they

belong, that Chrysostom well merits the name he has received, and that it is not without reason that he has been called the greatest pulpit orator of the Greek Church.

31. **The Doctrine of the Trinity.** In the year 318, Arius, a presbyter of Constantinople, propounded the doctrine that the Son of God was not an eternal and divine person, but that he was a created being—created in time—yet of all creatures he was the first and the greatest, and that through him all the rest of the universe has been created. The more clear-sighted churchmen saw at once that this doctrine assailed the very foundation of Christianity, and, therefore, turned against Arius, and caused a synod at Alexandria, in 321, to denounce his doctrine and exclude him from the fellowship of the Church. In the mean time Arius had gathered a number adherents, who either did not understand the real importance of the question, or were unable to rise to a biblical view of the divine nature of Christ. A widespread controversy was the result. To settle this dispute, Constantine the Great convened the First Ecumenical Church Council at Nicæa in 325. A young presbyter, named Athanasius, succeeded by his fiery eloquence and convincing arguments to gain both the Emperor and nearly all the bishops over to his view. It was here decided as a general creed of the Church that *Jesus Christ is very God of very God, of one substance with the Father, and begotten of the Father from eternity.*

The Arians were still powerful and, through the favor of certain Emperors, succeeded, time and again, in securing control in the Empire. As a consequence this controversy continued to rage for a long time with unabated fury. At the same time a new sect arose, called the Macedonians (from their leader Macedonius) or Pneumatomachians, who placed the Holy Spirit only

within the realm of creation, and represented him as the first being created through the Son.

In order to bring the old and the new doctrinal controversies to a close, Theodosius the Great convened the Second Ecumenical Council, at Constantinople, in 381. Here the decree of the Nicene Council was endorsed, and the doctrine of the Church concerning the Holy Ghost formulated, i. e. *that he proceeds from the Father and is to be worshiped and glorified together with the Father and the Son.*

These definitions have all been summarized in two Confessions or Symbola: the *Niceno-Constantinopolitan* and the *Athanasian* (so called from Athanasius, but formulated toward the end of the fifth century). The latter contains also the decree of the Council of Chalcedon (451) (par. 32) concerning the person of Christ.

Athanasius, known as the Father of Orthodoxy, was born of Christian parents about the year 300. He was early instructed in the Christian faith as well as Greek philosophy and literature. He soon attracted public attention through his ability, his devotion to the Church, and his strict mode of life. He was early made deacon, and in this capacity he also served as private secretary to his bishop, Alexander, with whom he stood in a most intimate relation. He also accompanied him to the First Ecumenical Council, in Nicæa (325). To settle the Arian controversy, the Emperor, Constantine, had found it advisable to summon the bishops of the whole Empire. The greatest number came, however, from the East, only a few from the West, from Spain only one. The whole number was about 300. Among them were many learned, pious, and eloquent men; yet there were no doubt many of an undecided character. Outspoken Arians there were but few. The greater number were unsettled in their views, ready to yield to conciliatory measures.

To begin with there were many negotiations and disputations with Arius, and in these Athanasius distinguished himself by his energetic and successful defence of the doctrine which was afterwards adopted by the Council. Finally, on the appointed day, the Emperor, Constantine, appeared, clad in his imperial robes, accompanied by a large retinue of councilors, officers of state, and his

imperial guards in gorgeous uniforms. The bishops and other delegates of the Council had previously repaired to the large assembly hall of the palace. The bishop of Antioch delivered the address of welcome to the Emperor, who in turn addressed the assembly and counseled harmony and conciliatory measures. When the Council had been thus officially and solemnly opened, the most distinguished of the bishops acted in turn as moderators at the deliberations.

Regarding the proceedings of the Council only the most important points can be mentioned here. After an Arian form of confession had been rejected, the doctrinal formulas found in the Nicene Creed were at last adopted. The powerful influence of Athanasius as well as the opinion of the Emperor, who sided with him, contributed largely toward the final result. Five bishops who refused to ratify the condemnation of Arius were, together with him, excommunicated by the Council and banished by the Emperor.

Bishop Alexander died three years later and Athanasius became his successor. The times in which he lived were full of contention and unrest, and he himself often took part in the strife with an ill-advised zeal. Many opponents arose with all manner of accusations against him. Among others that he had maltreated refractory bishops and presbyters, that he had even caused one bishop to be put to death. At a synod, in Tyre (335), he was deposed, although the bishop alleged to have been put to death appeared in person before the assembly. He appealed to the Emperor, but by the machinations of his opponents the Emperor was induced to banish him to Treves without trial or sentence, because he was "a disturber of the peace of the Church."

After the death of Constantine, Athanasius returned to Alexandria (338). But as he continued to remove his opponents and appoint orthodox bishops in Egypt, he was again accused. At the command of Constantius an opponent was consecrated bishop and installed in his office by military force (340). Shortly before, Athanasius had voluntarily withdrawn to Rome, where he was well received. The six following years he resided in the West.

In the mean time the Arian bishop had died, and, in 346, Athanasius returned and without opposition resumed the duties of his office, the people of Alexandria hailing his return with great joy. But the Emperor continued his enmity toward him, and finally gave orders to the imperial governor to arrest him. During the night between the 8 and 9 of Feb., 356, he entered the church, where Athanasius was holding vigil services. During the tumult that

ensued, Athanasius left the church and escaped to the Egyptian deserts.

The following years he sojourned among the hermits and associations of monks, all the while exerting a great influence by his reputation and his writings. In Alexandria the Arians were now in full control, but their bishop held his position with the greatest difficulty. Twice he had to flee from the turbulent city, and finally, after the death of Constantius, the mob slew him in a riot. By an edict of Julian (the Apostate), Athanasius together with other exiled bishops was recalled.

When, however, he began to labor with great zeal for the defence of the Christian faith and even gained several heathen for Christianity, the Emperor Julian drove him out, and "the enemy of the gods, so often exiled by the Emperors", had to go into exile for the fourth time. After the death of this Emperor, he was enabled to return from the regions whither he had fled for refuge. Under one of the following Emperors, he was again obliged to flee, but the last seven years of his life he was allowed to spend quietly in Alexandria, where he died in 373.

The works of Athanasius consist chiefly of polemics against the Arians together with several letters of a devotional character. His services to the Church consist mainly in his unflinching and consistent defence of the Nicene Creed and in his victorious struggle against Arianism.

32. **The Development of the Doctrine of the two Natures in Christ.** The doctrine of the divinity of Christ had been established at the great Church Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople. The latter Council also promulgated the doctrine concerning the humanity of Christ. Basing his theory on the philosophical trichotomy of man, as body, soul, and spirit, bishop Apollinaris of Laodicæa had taught that Christ had a human body, and soul, but not spirit, in its place stood his divine nature. This doctrine was rejected, and in opposition to it, it was established that while Christ is true God, he is also true and perfect man.

How are these two natures in Christ united to form one personality? In answering this question it was

possible according to the tendency of the Antiochian School to lay such stress upon the distinction between the natures as to destroy the personal unity of Christ; or with the Alexandrian School to emphasize the unity so as to lose sight of the distinction between the two natures.

Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, became the leader of the Antiochian view. In opposition to the Alexandrian elevation of the Virgin Mary as the mother of God, he held that the child to which Mary gave birth was *only man whom the Son of God* (Logos) *made his abode and instrument.* Between the divine and human in Christ there was always a positive difference. All the infirmities that belonged to him during his natural life, as well as his suffering and death belonged only to his human nature, not to his divine. With such a theory of the person of Christ there was danger of denying the absolute value of his atonement, and the Church had ample grounds for condemning Nestorianism as a heresy. This was done at the Third Ecumenical Council, called by the Emperor, Theodosius II, at Ephesus in 431. It is, however, to be regretted that the opponents of Nestorius used their victory to persecute the venerable patriarch, so that after enduring great sufferings and privations he died in distress. His followers found at last (499) a refuge in Persia, where remnants are still found, who are called from their church language *Chaldean* or *Syrian Christians.*

The Alexandrian view now prevailed. It was further developed by Eutyches, an abbot of Constantinople. He taught that Christ at his incarnation took up the *human nature in so close a union with the divine, that he in reality afterwards had only one nature, namely the divine.* After various complications the doctrine of Eutyches was rejected at

the Fourth Ecumenical Council, at Chalcedon, in 451. A rule formulated by Pope Leo the Great was adopted as a correct expression of the doctrine of the Church. This was in substance that in the person of Christ there are two natures, the divine and the human, united without confusion or change (against Eutyches), division or separation (against Nestorius), the properties of each nature being preserved.

The followers of Eutyches, or as they were now called Monophysites (those holding one nature), continued to be strong both in number and influence. In order to put a stop to the religious controversy, the civil authorities attempted, however, without success, to reunite them with the Church. Instead of reuniting, they formed a Church of their own. In Egypt and Abyssinia there are yet found Monophysites called Coptic Christians, also in Armenia, where they are known as Armenian Christians, and in Syria and Mesopotamia, where they are called Jacobites, from the monk Jacob el Baradai, who was an indefatigable worker for the maintenance of the sect in those regions.

An effort to regain the Monophysites for the Church was made by the Emperor Heraclius, in 622. He proposed a compromise to which he hoped the contending parties would agree, to the effect that in the person of Christ there were two natures, but only one will. The Monophysites were, however, not satisfied with this concession, and the representatives of the Church saw in this compromise an approach toward Monophysitism. The imperial compromise failed in its mission to end the controversy, but it brought into existence a new faction known as the Monothelites. At the instigation of the Roman bishop, Agathos, they were condemned as heretical by the Sixth Ecumenical Council, in 680, and under the leadership of the Abbot Maro, after whom they were called Maronites, they formed on Mt. Lebanon a Church of their own. During the time of the Crusades they entered into an alliance with the Roman Church.

33. **Development of the Doctrine of Sin and Grace.** The foregoing doctrinal controversies were confined more particularly to the Eastern Church. Only now and then had the bishops of Rome interfered to lead the development in the right direction. On the other hand we find the controversy about the more practical subjects of Sin and Grace agitating the Church in the West. The principal champions here were Augustine, bishop of Hippo († 430), and the British monk Pelagius.

All the preceding church fathers had, indeed, acknowledged the universality of sin and its connection with the fall of Adam, as well as the necessity of divine grace for man's salvation. But the doctrinal points regarding these questions were yet obscure and unsettled.

At the opening of the fifth century Augustine appeared. A painful experience of his own inability to withstand the evil enabled him to understand the depth of man's depravity. As a consequence, he taught that *man, created in the image of God, was originally good, but that he had become corrupted by sin and had lost his original holiness.* He thus became subject to the wrath of God, death, condemnation, and the dominion of sin, so that he no longer possessed the power *to will or to do anything good* in a higher sense. *This sinfulness with all its conseqsences is inherited by all men, and cleaves to them from their very birth.* No man can of himself do the least to save himself from this misery. But God, who according to his justice must punish sin, *has of his great love out of the great mass of lost humanity chosen a few who shall be saved.* With these his grace works with irresistible power for their conversion and preservation in faith. On all the rest the grace of God does not work at all, or at least not in full earnest, and they are as a result lost. This is St. Augustine's doctrine of predestination.

Pelagius was a man of considerable learning and moral worth. The asceticism of the cloister was his ideal. Any strong temptation to flagrant sins did not beset him, and he lacked insight into the depravity of the human heart. As a consequence, he had never experienced his own inability to overcome sin and temptation, and he very naturally overestimated the natural powers of man. The fall of man into sin he regarded as having wrought evil to our first parents, but not to their descendants. They are at their birth, like their first parents at their creation, devoid both of sin and virtue, and have full power both to will and do the good. Sin is, indeed, common in the world, but this has its origin in bad examples and wicked habits. By his own power man can determine to improve and both begin and finish his walk in the footsteps of Jesus. The grace of God through Jesus Christ our Lord is not at all necessary, but it is a very great help. Through Christ man has received a full revelation of the will of God, and his life furnishes the most perfect model for imitation.

Pelagius began to set forth his view more openly at Rome in 410. The following year he crossed over to Africa. There Augustine contended with him both with voice and pen, with such power that his views were condemned by a synod at Carthage, in 418. He found a temporary refuge with Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, but his connection with this heretic led to the rejection of his views also in the East. This took place at the Council in Ephesus, in 431.

Although Pelagianism had thus been repudiated by the Church, the view of Augustine had not received full acknowledgement because of its dangerous doctrine of predestination. Against the same there arose a faction holding an intermediate view, maintaining the freedom

of the will and the necessity of the grace of God in man's conversion. They were called Semi-Pelagians. They talked of orignal sin, but understood it to mean only a *moral weakness which follows man from birth, so that although he, indeed, can choose the good, yet is unable to do the same of himself, but needs the assistance of divine grace.* As a consequence, the conversion of man takes place through a co-operation of the grace of God and the spiritual powers of man, which are weakened but not destroyed by sin.

After a controversy lasting more than one hundred years Semi-Pelagianism was condemned by the Church at a Synod in Orange, France, in 529. Here the Augustinian view was accepted, however, in a modified form, according to which it was held that reprobation was not founded in God's will, but in man's opposition to the grace of God in his heart.

Aurelius Augustine was born, 353, in Numidia. His father was a pagan and of a violent and passionate temper, which seemed to have been inherited by the son.

His mother, Monica, was an earnest Christian. By patience and kindness she won her husband over to the Christian faith shortly before his death. In the heart of her son she planted the seeds of piety, which after many storms grew and bore fruit.

His life before his conversion Augustine has portrayed in his "confessions" which may, however, be a little too strongly colored. His evil desires developed early, and in his younger years he was guilty of many serious moral offenses. He admits afterwards that during all this time he was unhappy and without peace.

After the death of his father, he attended the high school at Carthage. He devoted himself zealously to the study of rhetoric and philosophy, but he found no peace for his soul. A work of Cicero, now lost, which he studied, aroused within him an eager desire to know the truth. Long did he roam about in his own ways, before he found the truth which comes from God and leads to God.

Sometimes he read the bible, but its style seemed to him too simple and artless, its contents too childish. The half-heathen

religion of Mani appealed to him so strongly that at the age of nineteen he became an adherent and disciple of the Manichæan sect. Their poetically fantastic doctrine, which seemed to penetrate deeply into the mysteries of nature attracted him with irresistible force.

During all this time his mother, Monica, never ceased to pray for her erring son. When she at one time opened her heart and made known her anxieties to a pious bishop who had himself belonged to the Manichæans, he comforted her with these words: "Be composed, a son of so many sighs and tears of a mother can not be finally lost."

After a period of nine years Augustine severed his connection with the Manichæans, having in a conversation with one of their leading men learned how empty their wisdom in reality was. Without his mother's knowledge he now went to Rome. At this time he began to doubt everything and became a skeptic.

He did not, however, tarry long in Rome, but went to Milan, where he was engaged as a teacher of rhetoric, to which work he had already applied himself while at Carthage. In Milan he went to listen to the sermons of St. Ambrose, probably from curiosity and interest in their rhetorical form. After a short time he was attracted by the truth they contained. His mother now joined him. Glad to see her son freed from the snares of the Manichæans, she expressed the sure hope that she would be spared, till she had seen him converted to Christianity.

But before this took place he had to encounter hard struggles. He understood that faith only could save him, but how should he come to this faith? This question was the more difficult for him, as he demanded a mathematical certainty even in spiritual matters. But to break away from his former sinful life and habits was a still harder struggle. He experienced within himself the terrible power of sin and his own inability to overcome his selfish nature. Having for some time studied the Neo-Platonic philosophy, he now began to read the bible. The discord in the soul of man as described by the Apostle Paul in the 7th chapter of Romans appealed to him with special force. In the spiritual struggles of the Apostle, he recognized his own.

One day he received a visit from a friend, who spoke to him about the pious hermit Antonius and his self-denial. He felt ashamed when he compared his past life with that of such a holy man. He hastened out into the garden, threw himself under a tree

and cried aloud with tears: "How long wilt thou yet be angry? Remember not my sins! Why always to-morrow, and again to-morrow? Why not put an end to my shame this very moment?" Thereupon he thought he heard a child from an adjoining house cry: "Take and read." This he took as a hint from above, procured a copy of the Epistle to the Romans, and found this place: Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness (Rom. 13: 13).

A heavenly peace filled his soul as he read. New strength and new hope revived within him, and he hastened to his mother to relate what had taken place within him. This happened in the month of September, 386.

Augustine sought seclusion and withdrew together with his mother and a few friends to a rural home outside of Milan. Here he spent some time occupied with the study of the Psalms, with literary work, and various agricultural pursuits. Later he returned to Milan, where he received baptism at the hands of St. Ambrose, at Easter 387. Thence he went to Rome, and, after a short stay, repaired to North Africa. During this journey, near Ostia, occurred the death of his mother to whose memory he has left such a beautiful tribute in his "Confessions".

After his return to Africa he led an ascetic life together with his associates for a period of three years. Afterwards he became presbyter in the neighboring town of Hippo Regius, and, in 396, bishop at the same place. Here also, together with his presbyters, he led an ascetic life according to a certain prescribed rule (vita canonica). Not only within his own congregation did he labor succesfully, but his influence was felt in wider circles.

In his youth he had led a stormy life, as bishop he had many bitter controversies with opponents. His last days were saddened by the invasion of the cruel Vandals. He died in Hippo in 430, during the siege of the city.

The life of Augustine before his conversion is the more interesting to us, as there is a close connection between it and his doctrinal views. Through bitter experience he had gained his knowledge of both sin and grace.

St. Augustine's writings are very numerous. He wrote polemics against the Manichæans, and against the Pelagians as well as against the Semi-Pelagians. Orally and by writing he opposed the Donatists, and in the controversy with them he unhappily expressed

the thought that violence might even be used as a last resort to bring heretics back to the Church. He made use of a biblical passage erroneously expounded, "Compel them to come in" (Luke 14: 23). Thus in time to come the authority of Augustine could be adduced in defence of the many persecutions against heretics.

An apologetical and dogmatical work with a wide scope was written by him on The City of God (De Civitate Dei). About 400 sermons have been preserved. As a bible expositor he is less famous, for he knew only a little Greek and Hebrew not at all.

With good reason has Augustine been called the *Teacher of the Christian Occident*. He was undoubtedly the most versatile of all the church fathers and exerted the greatest influence both on his cotemporaries and on posterity. While we admire his spiritual depth, and mental acumen, we are forced to admit that he advanced various false doctrines.

It is, indeed, remarkable that he is regarded equally great both by Catholics and Protestants. He praises on the one hand both tradition and the Church most highly and regards the latter even in an outward sense as holy. He also allows the priesthood to occupy a mediatorial position between God and man. In this respect he is an orthodox Catholic. But on the other hand, he presents in a more emphatic way than any other teacher before the time of Luther the absolute necessity of the grace of God for man's salvation, and wholly excludes all human merit in this connection. In this respect he is a Protestant. His writings were eagerly studied by the Reformers, and exerted upon their views a most powerful influence.

d. The Extension of the Church.

34. **Missionary Work during the Migrations.** By the Great Migration a number of Teutonic tribes forced themselves into Roman territory. All these were converted to Christianity. The beginning was made by the *Visigoths*. They were early made acquainted with Christianity through Christian captives taken in war. A faithful laborer among them was Ulfilas, who was ordained as their bishop about 340. He gave them an alphabet and translated the bible into their tongue. The Christian

Goths were persecuted from time to time by their heathen countrymen, but gradually the whole nation accepted Christianity (in the Arian form). About this time the Visigoths were driven from their homes north of the Black Sea by the invading Huns, and were permitted to cross the Danube and settle in the Roman Province of Moesia, about the year 375. Forty years later they established their kingdom in Spain. Even there they continued in their Arian faith, and accepted the orthodox or Catholic faith first at the Synod of Toledo, 589.

From the Visigoths, Christianity in its Arian form came to the *Ostrogoths*, who ruled in Italy from 493 to 554, and the *Vandals*, who finally located in North Africa, where they tyrannized over the country between the years 429 and 533. Both of these nations remained Arians to the time of their overthrow. The *Lombards*, who became masters of Upper Italy in 568, had also received Arian Christianity from the Visigoths. They continued Arians for a period of over one hundred years, and then they too accepted the Catholic faith.

The *Franks*, at the time of their invasion of Gaul, were still pagans. Their king Clovis had, however, become acquainted with Christianity through his queen, Clothilda, a Burgundian princess. In a battle with the Alemanni, in 496, he was hard pressed and promised with a vow to accept the Christian faith, if he should be victorious. We know for a fact that shortly after the victory, he received baptism, setting an example that was immediately followed by many thousand Franks and afterwards by the whole nation. The Franks accepted from the beginning the orthodox faith and became in subsequent times the strongest supporters of the Western Church.

The *Anglo-Saxons* invaded Britain and began a cruel struggle against the Christian Britons, whom they drove into the mountains of Wales, while they themselves took possession of the whole of England. The Britons remained faithful to Christianity. Their Church was of the old type, had no connection with Rome, and is known as the Celtic Church.

The Anglo-Saxons did not, however, receive Christianity from the Britons because of the hostile feeling between the two nations. A Celtic Church was established among them by missionaries from the Convent of Iona (par. 35). The mission that emanated from Rome was the most successful. Pope Gregory the Great sent the abbot Augustine with about forty monks to convert the Anglo-Saxons. Through their efforts one of the kings of the Heptarchy accepted Christianity, and in Canterbury the first archbishopric was established with Augustine as the first archbishop, 597. About 60 years later the whole Anglo-Saxon nation was won over to Christianity and entered into full connection with the Roman Church.

The language of Ulfilas' version of the Bible is called the Mœso-Gothic. Only fragments remain of this translation. The most valuable of these are found in the Codex Argenteus (Silver-book). This was discovered in the beginning of the 17th century in the Convent of Werden on the Ruhr. Thence it was brought to Prague, and, in 1648, it came into the possession of the Swedes as the spoils of war. Since 1669 it has been preserved in the Library of Uppsala, and is cherished as its greatest treasure. Its name is derived from the fact that it is written with silver ink (partly gold) and bound in covers of massive silver.

The Celtic Church had become isolated from the rest of the Christian world by the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons, and could, therefore, not keep pace with the development of the Church on the Continent, but it was at the same time free from the errors of the latter. In general, it was distinguished by a greater simplicity and

a truer evangelical spirit. Her peculiarities were mainly: worship conducted in the vernacular, a married clergy, and a refusal to submit to the Roman hierarchy. To these were added a few others of minor importance, which, however, called forth considerable controversy, such as the celebration of Easter at another time than that of the Church in general, the tonsure of Paul instead of that of Peter (par. 23), etc. The Celtic Church was also established in Ireland and Scotland. At the beginning of the Middle Ages she sent many energetic missionaries to Germany. She was, however, unable to maintain her independence and was absorbed by the Roman Church in the ninth century.

35. **Missionary Work outside of the Roman Empire.** During this period the Church did not expand territorially to any great extent. In Europe, Christianity was brought to Ireland and Scotland, and in Africa to Abyssinia. In Asia Christianity was more firmly established in countries, where it had been preached before, but not been generally accepted, as in Armenia, Persia, and certain parts of Arabia.

St. Patrick became the Apostle of Ireland. From the year 430 he labored there with so much energy, and success that, within a short time, the whole island accepted Christianity. Here arose numerous schools and convents, from which many excellent missionaries went out to heathen lands. Hence the name, "The Island of Saints."

An Irish abbot, St. Columba (died 597), brought the gospel to Scotland. On a low rocky island off the west coast of Scotland he founded the monastery of Iona, which became an important nursery for the further spread of Christianity.

Abyssinia was Christianized in the fourth century by two youths (Aedesius and Frumentius) who had been captured while on a voyage of discovery and been brought as slaves to the Abyssinian court. By their

wisdom and winning ways they gained the confidence of the king and succeeded in converting him to the faith which had given peace to their own hearts. Within a short time there arose flourishing Christian churches in the whole country and one of these youths, Frumentius, was consecrated as their first bishop. Later the Monophysite heresy was introduced. It still prevails in the Abyssinian Church, which has been in a state of decline for a long time.

36. **A Retrospect of the Ancient Era.** During the Ancient Era the mission of the Church was to labor especially among the people of the Roman Empire. During the Period of the Martyrs her outward labors were directed towards gathering these peoples into her bosom. In her inward development, she aimed in the first place to appropriate the rich treasure of divine revelation given both in the Old Testament and particularly in the New Testament by Christ and his Apostles; and to defend her position both against Jews and Pagans. In the second place she endeavored to introduce the best possible order into her government and cultus and to infuse a Christian spirit into the life in the Church as a whole, as well as among the individual members and familes. Thus she became a city on a hill which could not be hid. A select remnant sought protection within her walls; the great mass made violent attacks upon her, but without success, for she was founded on the Rock, Christ. The life in the Church had, however, already begun to show a certain false tendency, particularly in the existence of an Old Testament legalism and, in consequence, an undue value was placed upon certain outward good works.

During the time of doctrinal development the all-victorious power of faith at first maintained itself in the Church. This was, indeed, necessary, as Christianity should permeate the whole body of the Roman state. To fuse the old Græco-Roman civilization with the Christian culture and present clearly and difinitely to human thought the main points of the Christian doctrine was truly a work that called forth Herculean efforts. Sadly enough, it soon became manifest that the Church lost in depth in the same measure as she gained in extent. Dangerous tendencies, early manifested, developed by degrees. The government of the Church became more

and more hierarchical. Worship was overloaded with ritualism and lost much of its edifying character. Zeal for pure doctrine laid greater and greater stress upon orthodox expressions of faith while faith in the heart and its manifestation in life were neglected. The conditions in the Eastern Church grew rapidly worse and matured for the punishment that came through the spread of Islam. In the West the Great Migration served to chastise the Church and to begin her restoration.

Pontificate of Gregory VII. 1073–1085 — 1294
Highest stage in the development of the Papacy.
1294–1517

THE MEDIAEVAL ERA.

(A. D. 600—1517.)

37. **Introduction.** At the close of the Ancient Era the Church approached a new phase in her development. She had infused her life unto the classic nations and had appropriated their culture. It now became evident that these nations were no longer equal to the task of maintaining the Church. The Christians of the Orient had lost themselves in formalism and cant and were a poor defence for the Christian faith against advancing Mohammedanism. A remnant of the Greek Church maintained itself, but it showed few signs of inner life. In the West everything was in a state of dissolution. Here the Roman Empire had crumbled to pieces and the Teutonic communities formed on its ruins had not yet acquired the necessary stability. But Christianity now exhibited its wonderful power. The Teutons, indeed, subdued the great Roman Empire, but were in their turn conquered by the Church. Those who crossed the frontiers and took possession of the Roman provinces had, as a rule, already accepted Christianity and were now received in a body into the Church. Their kindred outside of the Empire, beyond the Rhine and the Danube, were afterwards converted through the missionary enterprises of the Church. On the other hand the Slavs of Eastern Europe were gathered into the Greek Church. Thus the center of the Church was changed from the Græco-Roman to the Teuto-Slavonic nations. With this change new duties were imposed upon the Church, but new forces were also placed at her disposal. During this time she underwent many internal changes, and assumed that particular form which characterizes her during the Middle Ages. †

a. Territorial Changes.

38. **Mohammedanism.** At the opening of the Middle Ages the Christian Church lost a considerable part of

† The rise and decline of 3 great institutions a. The Papacy. 2. Monasticism 3. Scholasticism

the territory in which she had first planted the standard of the Cross. These territories were seized by the Saracen conquerors, who established within them the religion of their prophet Mohammed — a religion composed of pagan, Jewish, and Christian elements.

Mohammed was born in the city of Mecca, about the year 571, and appeared as a religious teacher when about 40 years of age. "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet" was the fundamental doctrine of his creed. The soul of man is immortal; eternal bliss awaits the faithful; eternal misery the unbelievers. No atonement is necessary, for by his own good deeds man can gain paradise, where the richest sensual pleasures are enjoyed. There are, however, intimations that the righteous "shall see God", and that this enjoyment is as much greater than all sensual pleasures "as the ocean is greater than the dewdrop." To secure this bliss the faithful should pray diligently, fast often, give alms, and, at least once during life, make a pilgrimage to Mecca. But more efficient than all these is the battle for the spread of the faith. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer, and at the day of judgment the wounds of the faithful shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk. God has before hand determined the destiny of men. To this decree man must submit without a murmur (Fatalism). One of the deepest shadows in the Mohammedan religion is the degradation in which it places woman. She is a being far inferior to man and is only his servant. Polygamy was permitted. The religion is known as Islam, which means submission to God. It is contained in the Koran, which is the sacred book of the Mohammedans, and which was published after the death of the prophet.

Most of Mohammed's immediate kinsmen believed him to be a chosen messenger of God, but his more remote relatives and tribesmen would not accept his message, and began to persecute him, and even to threaten his life, when he attacked their old idolatrous worship. He was at length compelled to flee for his life. With great difficulty he escaped to the neighboring city of Medina, in the year 622. This event is known as the Hegira, and from it the Mohammedans reckon time to this day. The inhabitants of Medina received his doctrine with great enthusiasm, and now began the "holy war" for the spread of Islam. In this Mohammed was eminently successful, and at the time of his death, in 632, he had reduced the whole Arabian Peninsula.

Under the successors of Mohammed, the Caliphs, the Arabs extended their dominion far beyond the boundaries of their native land. Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Persia, Northern Africa, and Spain fell in succession into their hands. From Spain they crossed the Pyrenees and devastated the land of the Franks. But the brilliant victory of Charles Martel at Tours, in 732, put a stop to their further progress westward. Their power soon began to decline even in Spain, and, in 1492, their last possession there fell into the hands of the Christians. But in the East they continued to extend their dominion. The Crusades put only a temporary check to their victories. In the 14th century, they crossed from Asia Minor to Europe and in the following they overthrew the Roman Empire in the East by the capture of Constantinople (1453). For a long time afterwards the Mohammedan power continued to be a menace to all Christendom.

In the conquered countries, especially in Asia, a few Christian churches continued to exist, notwithstanding

the oppression to which they were subjected from time to time. The great mass of the people were easily enough induced to accept the religion of the conquerors. Thus in Northern Africa nearly every trace of Christianity was soon swept away.

The Mohammedans have many religious customs resembling those of the Jews. Among these may be mentioned certain food regulations, and the rite of circumcision, which, however, was in vogue among the Arabs before the time of Mohammed. One month of the year — Ramadan — is set apart for fasting, during which time no one is allowed to taste either meat or drink from the rising to the setting of the sun. The use of wine is prohibited. Monasticism was introduced one hundred years after the rise of Islam.

The ceremonies of Islam are extremely simple. The worship in the mosques is led by an intercessor, called imam. Friday is the holiest day of the week, but is not kept as a sabbath. The pious Mohammedan says prayer five times a day with his face turned toward Mecca. The hours for prayer are publicly announced from high towers, minarets, built around the mosques. In Mecca is preserved the most sacred shrine of the Mohammedans, the Caaba, said to have come down from heaven.

The Koran was gathered by the father-in-law and successor of Mohammed, Abu Bekr. Its contents indicate an acquintance with both the Old and the New Testament, and are composed of religious, moral, and legal precepts. In size the Koran corresponds to the New Testament and is divided into 114 chapters. While its moral tone rises above that of pagan religions, it falls far below the Christian standard.

The Caliph was the highest religious and civil authority of the Mohammedans. In the beginning of the Middle Ages the Mohammedan countries reached a high point in both spiritual and material progress, and from them Christian Europe received many valuable seeds of culture. Mohammedan civilization, however, soon began to wane; and it has ever since been in a state of retrogression.

39. **Founding of the Church in Germany.** While the Church thus lost both in the South and the East, she gained ground among the Teutons and the Slavs. Quite early there arose Christian churches in Germany in places

where Roman camps had been located, such as, Cologne, Treves, etc. But a more general spread of Christianity was effected by missionaries from the British Isles. One of the most distinguished of these heroes of faith was the indefatigable laborer, Willibrord, the Apostle of the Frisians († 738). His zealous work was afterwards continued by Winfrid, better known as St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany. He preached first in Friesland, and afterwards in Central Germany, where he labored during a whole generation for the conversion of the Germans and the regulation of churches and convents. He thought that he could most firmly establish Christianity within this great territory by placing the different churches under the jurisdiction of the papal see. He was made archbishop and primate of Germany by the Pope, and established his archiepiscopal seat at Mainz. In his old age he made a missionary journey to the Frisians, where he died a martyr, about the year 754.

Through the victorious arms of Charlemagne the Church was extended and firmly established among the German tribes by the opening of the ninth century.

Boniface exerted the greatest influence on the Church in the West. He labored as a zealous and devoted missionary and an energetic ecclesiastical reformer. The power of the Pope was not yet fully established. It looked as if Christendom should fall asunder into as many ecclesiastical organizations as there were nations. This would not have been advantageous to the Church in such countries as were yet half pagan. For there was no ecclesiastical authority that could assert itself against increasing evils or the growing desire of the civil authorities to make the Church subservient to their interests. With remarkable penetration, Boniface perceived that a central church authority was the only thing that could defend the interests of the Church and religion against their many adversaries, and he made it his object to strengthen the ties between the Papacy and the Germanic nations. In Germany this was done with the introduction of Christianity. But even in France,

Boniface succeeded in carrying out his plans, although not before Charles Martel had died and his sons had succeeded to his power. At several Church councils reformatory measures were enacted. The Pope was acknowledged as the supreme head of the whole Frankish Church, the canon law was enforced, and the provincial synods were reestablished. Thus there was a firm foundation laid for the power both of the Church and the Papacy, especially as these regulations, owing to the rapid growth of the Frankish power, became patterns for the whole of Western Europe.

40. **The Establishment of the Church among the Scandinavian Nations.** Not before the ninth century did any Christian missionary visit the northern countries. Fear of the plundering vikings and the universal enthusiasm for the conversion of the heathen led the Christian people to make earnest efforts, with the power of the gospel, to subdue the wild Northmen, whom no power of arms could overcome.

The first man that preached the gospel in the North was the brave and pious St. Ansgar, who has therefore been called the "Apostle of the North." Born in Northern France, he entered early in life the renowned monastery of Corbie, in Picardie, where he received his education. Later on he moved to New Corbie, a cloister in Westphalia. He burnt with a desire to proclaim the gospel of Christ and to suffer and die for the cause. His wish was soon gratified, when he was sent by the Emperor, Louis the Pious of France, to preach the gospel in Denmark. Full of zeal he began his work in this country and founded a mission station near the city of Schleswig. His labors were, however, soon interrupted by internal civil disorders. Thereupon he accepted the call of the Emperor to repair to Sweden. Accompanied by a friend he arrived after many hardships at Birka, the principal mercantile center of the Swedes (about 830). He was well received by the Swedish king Björn, and

secured permission from him to preach Christianity freely in the land. With undaunted courage and fiery zeal he preached the Christian faith and converted many. Even one of the king's chiefs, Herigar, accepted baptism and built on his possessions the first Christian chapel in the North.

After his return to Germany Ansgar was appointed archbishop, first in Hamburg, and when this city was destroyed by vikings, in Bremen. From this place Ansgar continued to superintend the missionary work in the Northern countries. When the priests he had left at Birka were driven away by a tumult of the heathen, he visited this city the second time about 850. By his kindness and manly courage, he succeeded in pacifying the heathen, and the udalmen (free farmers) decided at the *thing* (court meeting) that Christianity should continue to be preached in the land. After having thus happily settled the matter he returned to Bremen and there labored untiringly for the conversion of the North until his death in 865.

ST. ANSGAR.

At first Christianity made very slow headway in the countries of the far North. Through influences from

Germany and England the Christian Church gained a final victory in Denmark during the reign of Canute the Great (1014—1035). Norway, which stood in close connection with the British Isles, received Christianity from them. Two Norwegian kings, Olaf Tryggvesson and Olaf Haraldsson (the Saint), labored especially for the introduction of the Christian faith among their subjects. They did not disdain to use compulsion to gain their purpose. Because of his cruelties Olaf Haraldsson brought upon himself the hatred and vengeance of his heathen subjects, and he was obliged to flee from the land. When he returned to regain his kingdom by force of arms, he fell in the battle of Stiklestad, A. D. 1030. After his death public opinion suddenly changed. The people abandoned their idolatry and accepted Christianity. King Olaf was looked upon as a martyr to his faith and was worshiped as the patron Saint of Norway.

In Sweden paganism was the most stubborn. It was not before the beginning of the eleventh century that Christianity made rapid progress, especially through some English missionaries. At this time St. Sigfrid labored with zeal and success in Vestergötland and Småland. He may rightly be called the second Apostle of Sweden. Olof Lapking was baptized by him in 1007 and became the first Christian king of Sweden. Before long Christianity was spread also in Gothland (Götaland). During the reign of the Stenkil dynasty several Christian teachers labored with success in northern Sweden. By the victory of Inge the Elder over Blotsven (1080) Christianity triumphed in this part of the country also; and in the age of Erik the Saint there were only a few heathen scattered here and there in the more remote provinces.

The archbishop of Bremen had jurisdiction over the Church in the North until 1104, when the bishop of Lund was appointed by the Pope as archbishop of these parts. Thus the North became a separate ecclesiastical province which was afterwards divided into three. A papal legate, Nicholas of Albano, was sent to accomplish this division. He consecrated a separate archbishop

THE CATHEDRAL AT LUND.

for Norway with his seat at Trondhjem, in 1152. The same year he held a Church council, in Linköping, Sweden. Here the Swedes agreed like the other nations to pay an annual fee to the Pope (Peter-pence). But no archbishop could be appointed this time because of the dissension existing between the Sveas and the Goths. And it was not before the year 1164, that Sweden ob-

tained an archbishop in the person of Stephen, a monk from Alvastra, with his seat at Uppsala.

By degrees the Church in Sweden obtained all the privileges that were enjoyed in other countries (par. 22). Thus for instance it was established by a royal charter in 1200 that ecclesiastics should not be subject to the jurisdiction of temporal courts, but be amenable only to ecclesiastical tribunals in all civil and criminal

THE CATHEDRAL AT UPPSALA.

cases. In the same charter we also find the first mention, in Sweden, of the privileges of ecclesiastical tenures, i. e. freedom of all ecclesiastical estates from taxes and imposts. At the same time the paying of tithes became general in Sweden. They are usually divided among the bishop, the parish priest, the parish church, and the poor.

In the year 1248 Sweden was a second time visited by a papal legate, William of Sabina. He summoned

the principal men, both lay and clerical, to a Church council, in Skäninge. Celibacy was here enjoined upon the Swedish clergy. The bishops were ordered to make a faithful study of the Canon Law, so that it would gradually secure recognition in the country. A supplement to these resolutions ordered by the Pope regulated that a *Cathedral Chapter should be instituted, that the election of bishops should be left to this body, and that ecclesiastics were prohibited from swearing allegiance to the secular authority.*

By these ordinances the government of the Church in Sweden was completed and all its regulations modeled after the rest of Catholic Christendom.

41. **The establishment of the Church among the other European Nations.** Among the Slavonic nations we find especially Greek missionaries. Most distinguished among them are the two noble brothers, Cyrillus[c] and Methodius. They preached the Christian faith in Moravia and Bohemia, about 860 (previous to this probably also in Bulgaria). From Bohemia Christianity came to Poland. Even Hungary received the message from the Greek Church. Nevertheless all these countries, except Bulgaria, united themselves with the papal see. Russia, on the other hand, became a permanent acquisition of the Greek Church. Vladimir the Great († 1015), was the first Russian autocrat to receive baptism. His people were compelled at the same time to exchange their heathen worship for the Greek faith.

The countries on the eastern and southern shores of the Baltic were slow in accepting Christianity. Finland was compelled by military force to acknowledge both the Swedish rule and the Roman faith. Even in the rest of these countries, the missionary work was carried on by both sword and preaching. In this way Christianity was introduced into Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland

[c] Cyril & Methodius, apostles of the Slavs. Cyril created the written language & translated the B... With Methodius, the organizer. Use of ... in the Slavic ...

by the order of the Brothers of the Sword (organized in 1202), into Prussia by the Teutonic knights. Pomerania was Christianized by the dukes of Poland, and the Wends by the dukes of Saxony. When finally Lithuania had accepted Christianity (about 1386), it may be said that paganism was practically driven out of Europe.

b. Constitution and Cultus.

42. **The Rise of Papacy.** During the previous era the bishop of Rome had unquestionably occupied the front rank among all Christian bishops. He aimed even then at the supremacy over the whole Church. During the first part of the Middle Ages his efforts in this direction were crowned with signal success. Various conditions aided in securing this result. 1) In order to preserve its outward unity the Christian world felt the need of one, common, visible head, and where could such a one be found, if not in the bishop of Rome? Rome had of old been the capital of the world; Rome contained the graves of the two chief Apostles. According to tradition the Apostle Peter was the first bishop there; and the primacy he was supposed to have held in the circle of the Apostles would naturally pass to all his successors in office. 2) The bishops of Rome had, in general, been able and efficient leaders, and enjoyed great respect for their orthodoxy. 3) Many of the archbishops of the West were, indeed, unwilling to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, but on the other hand the bishops, priests, and monks vied with each other to place themselves directly under the jurisdiction of the Roman see in order to become more independent of their local superiors, archbishops and bishops. This helped to establish the opinion that all spiritual power and

authority emanated from the Pope. 4) As the missionaries among the Teutonic tribes were either sent out by the Pope or aided by him they inculcated in these peoples the deepest reverence for the Pope, as one commissioned by God himself as the head of the Church and the

POPE, CARDINALS, AND BISHOPS IN ROBES OF OFFICE AT THE CROWNING OF AN EMPEROR.

vicegerent of Christ on earth. 5) The Pseudo-Isidorian decretals served to give legality to the power of the Pope. These decretals were mainly a collection of decisions in ecclesiastical jurisprudence which were alleged to have emanated from the early Popes and

famous synods. The collection was claimed to have been made by a renowned Spanish bishop Isidore of Seville (†636), but they are now known to be forgeries, hence, the name Pseudo-Isidorian (False-Isidorian). The first one to appeal to these decretals in support of his authority was the energetic Pope Nicholas I. (858–867).

43. **Schism between the Roman and the Greek Church.** There was but one bishop who could dispute these pretensions of the Pope, the patriarch of Constantinople. To him the Christians of the East were wont to turn for leadership in proportion as his city grew in importance, and the Western Church in doctrine and practice separated more and more from the Eastern, which was fast becoming stagnant. A strained relation soon arose between the two church dignitaries. Both strove for the first position in the Church. They contended for the possession of certain countries that had received Christianity through Greek missionaries, but had afterwards entered into relations with Rome. Finally doctrinal issues were pushed into the forefront. Among these that of the procession of the Holy Ghost was the most important. To the decision of the Second Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 381) that "the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father", two synods of the West, had upon the authority of St. Augustine, added "and the Son" (filioque). The Eastern Church condemned this action, and made it an occasion for accusing the Western Church of heresy. When this accusation was repeated at a later date by a patriarch of the Greek Church, Michael Cerularius, the Pope, Leo IX., sent ambassadors to Constantinople to negotiate concerning the matter. Nothing could be accomplished, and the ambassadors deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a papal bull, excommunicating Michael and his adherents. The

patriarch answered by a similar anathema, and thus the rupture between the two Churches was completed in 1054. Later attempts (1273 and 1438) to reunite them had no lasting results.

44. **Papacy and the Church Offices.** The independence of the higher church officers was considerably circumscribed by the papal power. An archbishop was not allowed to enter upon the discharge of his duties before he had obtained the pallium at Rome and given his oath of allegiance to the Pope. In the official functions of the archbishops and bishops the Pope interfered, whenever it pleased him, either personally or through his lagates sent to the different countries with full power to act in his behalf.

Bishop (St. Augustine).

To promote the advancement of the clergy in knowledge and piety bishop Chrodegang of Metz (about 760) had established a rule that the priests who officiated at the same cathedral should like the monks live together and devote themselves to study and devotional exer-

cises according to a certain rule (Canon, Canonici). Some of these priests were to impart instruction to the young men who intended to devote themselves to the services of the Church. In this way the Cathedral Schools arose.

Chrodegang's rule soon became general throughout the West. The original purpose was, indeed, abandoned after a century, yet the institution had a lasting influence since in it the Cathedral Chapter had its origin. The Chapter became an advisory body to the bishop and slowly acquired great influence in the government of the diocese, and at the Fourth Lateran Synod, in 1215, the power of electing the bishop was laid in its hands.

The Pallium (see illustration, p. 118) is a scarf of white wool, about three inches wide, worn over the shoulders, with one band in front and one on the back reaching down to the knees, ornamented with purple crosses, embroidered or woven into it. It is made by the nuns of the convent of St. Agnes in Rome of wool from lambs specially consecrated for that purpose. Each new pallium must lie during the night before St. Peter's and Paul's day (June 29) over the graves of the Apostles in St. Peter's Church at Rome. No archbishop is allowed to officiate at any important ecclesiastical function without wearing the pallium. This ornament is not handed down to the successor in office, but is buried with the owner. Each new archbishop must secure the pallium from Rome, and for this badge of office large sums of money were paid into the papal treasury during the Middle Ages.

The name, *Cathedral Chapter*, arose from the circumstance that the members met, at first daily, in the church in which the bishop had his chair, *cathedra*, and there together read a *chapter* of the Bible or the Canon Law.

45. **The Papacy and the Temporal Power to the Time of Gregory VII.** Upon the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom, the Emperor in the East became ruler of Italy and ex officio Lord Protector of the Roman Church. He was, however, too weak to defend the Church against her

outward enemies, but showed a great desire to meddle unduly in her internal affairs. On this account the Popes began to look around for another sovereign that would give the Church greater liberty and at the same time afford a stronger defence. They found such a one among the Franks. Here St. Boniface had rearranged the affairs of the Church and placed her in the closest relation to the papal see. Shortly afterwards Charles Martel's son, Pippin le Bref, Mayor of the Palace, raised himself to the Merovingian throne. To this measure the Pope had given his consent and thereby gained the favor of the new king. It was not long before Pippin had a chance to show his gratitude. The Lombards invaded the possessions of the Greek (or Eastern) Emperor in Italy, siezed the Exarchate of Ravenna and threatened Rome. The Pope turned for help to the king of the Franks. Pippin came, reduced the Lombards, and compelled them to relinquish their conquests. Of these he gave the Exarchate to the Pope, and thus laid the foundation of the Church States, and the temporal power of the Popes.

The son of Pippin, Charlemagne, extended and ratified the bequest of his father. In return for services thus rendered, the Pope afterwards placed the crown of the Roman Empire upon the head of Charlemagne, on Christmas Day, A. D. 800. The relation between the Emperor and the Pope was thus defined, that the Pope by divine authority bestowed the highest power of Christendom upon the Emperor, and that the latter accepted the charge to be the highest protector and sovereign of the Church and the Pope.

Charlemagne exercised his protectorate over the Church with a strong hand, but for the good of the Church. He adopted decisive measures for raising the

standard of learning and morality among the clergy. He favored the cathedral schools, established other higher schools of learning, and took a personal interest in general education. He was an ardent supporter of the missionary work among the pagans, and furnished conquered lands with Christian teachers, who were to instruct and educate the new converts in the Christian faith, which in many cases had been forced upon them by the sword.

The weak and effenimate successors of Charlemagne were not able in a like measure to maintain their sovereignty over the papal see. On the other hand the Pope fell into a shameful dependence on a number of Italian families, who bestowed the papal office upon most unworthy persons. Out of this degradation, which lasted during the tenth and part of the eleventh century, the papal office was raised from time to time by powerful German Emperors, who caused worthy men to be appointed to this high office. But even from this direction a danger threatened. Their influence in appointing Popes was wholesome only as far as they themselves had the good of the Church at heart, which of course was not always the case.

46. **The Papacy at the Height of its Power.** Several pious men, zelous for the welfare of the Church, labored in the mean time to raise her from her degradation. Among these the monk Hildebrand was the most prominent. His high aim he hoped to gain by *liberating, as far as possible, the papal chair and the Church from all dependence on the temporal power.* He soon found an opportunity to put his plan into execution. In 1048 he accompanied Pope Leo IX. to Rome, and remained for 25 years the trusted and influential counselor of the Popes. During this time he caused the rule to be established that the *election*

of the Pope should be vested in a College of Cardinals, consisting of the chief ecclesiastics in the diocese of Rome, to the exclusion of the common people and the nobles. By this measure he calculated not only to free the papal office from its dependence upon the Italian nobles, but also to restrict the Emperor's influence upon the election of the Pope. He of course expected that the College of Cardinals would be less susceptible to improper influences than the former electoral corporation.

Finally, in 1073, Hildebrand was elevated to the papal chair as *Gregory VII.* Now he could more speedily carry out his favorite ideas. In his efforts he was prompted by exaggerated notions of the papal prerogative. "As the Pope is Christ's vicegerent on earth, he exercises suzerainty over all kingdoms of the world, and whosoever will not yield to his command sins against God himself. The temporal princes are only satellites who borrow their light from the Pope, the true sun." Such principles he had the courage openly to avow, and he never scrupled at using the most energetic measures for carrying them into effect.

The two principal means by which he sought to secure a greater independence of the Church as against the temporal princes were the Law of Celibacy and the Law against Lay Investiture of Ecclesiastics.

Already during the previous eras there were heard voices against a married clergy. Public opinion held the unmarried state to be holier and more worthy of a priest. Aided by such sentiments Gregory VII. laid down a rule that all the clergy should live a celibate life (1074). This law was carried into effect with the utmost severity. Subsequent history has shown that it was not conducive to morality. But it served to sever the priests from those social and civil relations to which

the cares of a family would have bound them. By this rule the clergy were farther separated from the common people than ever before, and their persons and possessions were more fully under the control of the Church.

In the course of time the churches and convents became owners of great estates and their masters, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, great feudal lords, who held civil and military sway over large territories. During feudal times all lands were considered as belonging to the crown, and, hence, the kings held that ecclesiastical holders should be regarded as other vassals and be bound to the same duties and subject to the same rules. In accordance with this theory the kings were accustomed to appoint the Church dignitaries, invest them with authority over their holdings by delivering to them the insignia of their office, the ring and staff. But the influence of the rulers became a serious menace to the Church. It happened frequently that they gave away ecclesiastical offices as favors, or, still worse, sold them for money to the highest bidder (Simony, Acts 8: 18—20). Hence, it often happened that the holy offices were held by men wholly incompetent and unworthy. With such men in the higher church offices, it is not surprising that the lower clergy sank deeper and deeper into ignorance and vice. To remedy the evils of Simony Gregory ordered (1075) that the *clergy should not accept an ecclesiastical office from a layman, and that no layman had the right to grant investiture to the clergy.*

The penalty for violation on the part of the clergy was deposition from office, for the laymen the ban of the Church.

This rule meant nothing less than the complete surrender on the part of the rulers of their suzerainty over the possessions of the Church. That they would do this without a protest was not to be expected, as they would

by this rule lose all control over large portions of their kingdoms as well as the revenues from the same. Hence, there arose between them and the Pope a bitter feud called the *Investiture Contest*. This was carried on with varying fortune mainly between the Pope and the German Emperor. For a while it seemed as if the Pope would succumb, and Gregory VII. had to flee from Rome to Salerno in the province of Naples. There he died in 1085. His last words were: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."

The contest continued after his death. The Pope found a strong support in the mighty movement known as the Crusades of which he was the leading spirit. The Emperor was finally compelled to make concessions, and, in 1122, the long contest was ended by the Concordat of Worms, by which it was agreed that a prelate should after free canonical election receive the symbols of his spiritual jurisdiction, the ring and staff, from the Pope, and the investiture of his temporal holdings from the Emperor by the touch of a scepter. The contest was settled in a similar manner in other countries where it had arisen.

The struggle between the Pope and the German Emperor was, however, not at an end. The great question was which of the two should have the greatest power in the West. In consequence of the Crusades and the veneration of the common people for the head of the Church the Pope gained one advantage after another over the renowned Emperors of the Hohenstaufen family. Papacy reached its highest power under *Innocent III.* (1198—1216). This distinguished Pope resembled in many respects Gregory VII. There was the same brilliant genius, the same insatiable thirst for glory and power, the same indomitable will, the same purity in

morals. Of the prerogatives of the Pope he entertained the most exaggerated views. "The princes", said he, "rule over a single kingdom or nation, the Pope over the whole earth." *The whole Christian world should constitute a single theocracy, whose princes and people should have the Pope as leader and supreme arbitrator not only in spiritual but also in temporal affairs.* The conditions of the times were so favorable and the superiority of Innocent so great that he could actually enforce these demands. Kings like vassals received crowns from him, and at his command they placed them at his feet. The regard for Innocent was not a little heightened by his becoming a powerful temporal ruler. He materially enlarged the papal states and freed them and the city of Rome from the suzerainty of the Emperor.

The year before his death he summoned the representatives of the Church to the Fourth Lateran Synod, in 1215. Never before had such a brilliant church assembly convened. Even the patriarchs of the East took part, either personally or by representatives. All present yielded submissively to the mighty church potentate, who dictated a number of decisions of such a decisive nature that this synod has appropriately been designated as the capstone of the papal structure.

The successors of Innocent continued the contest with the Emperor, and did not rest until the last of the Hohenstaufens had laid his head upon the block. But though papacy had triumphed in this contest, and succeeded for awhile in maintaining its influence, yet there were various signs indicating that its power was declining.

Gregory VII. and Henry IV. Hildebrand was born of poor parents, was educated in Rome, and afterwards became a monk at Clugny. From that place he accompanied Leo IX. back to Rome and was

made a cardinal. He gradually rose to power and influence in church affairs, and from the year 1058, he was the ruling spirit. Possessed of an indomitable will, trained in the hard school of poverty and the convent, and severely strict to himself and others, he exerted a powerful influence upon his surroundings.

His opponent Henry IV., king of Germany, was a man of an entirely different mould. He lost his father early in life, and at the age of twelve he was separated from his mother. He then fell under the baneful influence of Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, who is reported to have said to him on one occasion, "Do whatever pleaseth thee, only see that in the moment of death thou hast the true faith." As Henry was by nature inclined to pleasure and self-will, and was early invested with supreme power, it was most natural that he should follow the evil advice of his teacher. The result was that, lacking stability of character, he was by turns both bold and defiant and spiritless and submissive.

Even at the time of the election of Hildebrand as Gregory VII., there existed a strained relation between him and the German king. Henry IV retained at his court several councilors who had been excommunicated by Gregory's predecessors. There were also other reasons for mutual dissatisfaction. Toward the end of the year 1075 there arrived at Rome messengers from the Saxon princes who accused the king of a scandalous life. The Pope then sent ambassadors to Henry to investigate the rumors, and at the same time uttered threats to some of the courtiers against their sovereign. All this irritated Henry and he took the ill-advised step of causing a decree of deposition against Gregory to be passed by a synod of German bishops convened at Worms, in January 1076. The letter sent to Rome to convey this information began thus: "Henry, king by the grace of God, to Hildebrand, who is no longer Pope, but a false monk."

This letter reached its destination during the following Lent while Gregory was engaged in the solemn sessions of a synod, which he had convened. With perfect composure he caused the letter to be openly read before the synod, whose members all raised a cry of indignation. A sentence of excommunication was fulminated against Henry and all participants in his action. The bull was drawn up in the form of a prayer to the Apostle Peter, of which the following is an excerpt:

"St. Peter", it began, "Prince of the Aposles, turn, we entreat thee, thine ear to us and hear me, thy servant. Thou art my

witness, and Thou, the Mother of God, my Sovereign, and St. Paul, thy brother, and all saints, that the holy Roman Church has against my will placed me at its helm, and, therefore, I believe that it pleaseth thee that the Christian people entrusted to my care should obey me. With this assurance, and for the honor and protection of thy Church, I, by the power of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and by thy authority and office, do deprive King Henry, son of Emperor Henry, who with unheard-of insolence has set himself up against thy Church, of the sovereignty over the German and Italian kingdoms, and absolve all Christians from their oath of allegiance which they have given or yet may give him. And in thy stead I bind him with the bonds of anathema and exclude him thus from the Church that all people may know and understand that thou art Peter, and that the Son of the living God has built his Church upon this rock, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her."

Gregory thus dared not only to excommunicate Henry, but also to declare him deposed from his kingdom. This was an unprecedented and truly presumptuous measure. But the conditions of the times favored the bold pontiff. Henry had many enemies in his own kingdom, and several German princes availed themselves of the opportunity to humiliate the king. They determined that Henry's case should be tried at a great national diet in Augsburg, and the Pope was summoned to officiate as judge. The assembly was called to convene February 2, 1077.

With evident satisfaction Gregory accepted this responsibility and started on his journey to Augsburg near the end of the year 1076. When he arrived at the river Po, he learned to his dismay that Henry was already in Italy. He hastily sought refuge in the strong castle of Canossa, which belonged to his disciple, the noble and virtuous countess Mathilda, who ruled over a large part of northern Italy.

But this time Henry came not as an enemy, but as a penitent refugee. He would not appear in Augsburg under accusation, and was anxious to have the ban removed at any price. In midwinter, shortly before Christmas, he started from Spires, and as the passes leading to Italy were held by his enemies, he had to take the long and difficult way over Mt. Cenis. The road was almost impassable. The queen and her maids had to be dragged over the worst places on hides of animals.

He finally arrived at Canossa. Gregory, however, refused to receive him at first, and declared that he would treat with him at Augsburg. But upon the intercession of countess Mathilda and many others, he at last yielded and granted absolution to the penitent king, but on hard conditions. For three days, from morning till night, in the midst of winter, Henry stood with bare feet, and in the garb of a penitent in the courtyard of the castle. At last, on the fourth day, he was admitted, and as he threw himself sobbing at the feet of the pontiff, even Gregory was deeply moved and burst into tears like all others present. He advanced to the penitent king, raised him up, and gave him absolution. He then took him to the church, prayed for him, kissed him, and celebrated mass. Then the Pope took a consecrated wafer and broke it into two halves. "I know", said he, "that many accuse me of having obtained my office through simony. God is my witness that this is false. If I am guilty, then may God punish me by a sudden death." With this he consumed the one half of the wafer and gave the other to Henry with the exhortation to consume it and thus prove his innocence. But Henry declined.

One stipulation was that Henry should not exercise the functions of government until his case had been further investigated. Soon the hostility between Gregory and Henry broke out anew, and Henry was excommunicated. Even on his death-bed Gregory refused to withdraw this excommunication.

97. The Decline of Papacy. There were especially two circumstances, both results of the Crusades, that helped to undermine the power of the Pope. One was *higher education* and *more liberal views* even in spiritual things which now began to spread; the other was the *increase in the power of the king as against that of his vassals.*

The last one in the line of the great Popes of the Middle Ages was *Boniface VIII.* (1294—1303). He was drawn into a bitter controversy with Philip the Fair of France, who had undertaken, without the consent of the Pope, to tax the Church and the clergy in his kingdom. Finally Philip caused the Pope to be attacked in his own town and taken prisoner. Shortly afterwards, the aged pontiff died from chagrin and vexation at the

indignities he had suffered. Two years later a Frenchman was elected Pope as *Clement V.*, who was induced by Philip to remove the papal see to Avignon, in southeastern France, then a possession of the Pope (1309). This removal of the papal see from Rome caused a serious loss of prestige to the Pope. And furthermore the Popes at Avignon fell into such servile dependence upon the kings of France that their sojourn here of nearly seventy years came to be known as the "Babylonian Captivity of the Popes."

In 1377 the papal residence was, to be sure, restored to Rome, but it was followed immediately by the great schism in the Western Church. The cardinals could not agree but elected two Popes. Thus the Church for over thirty years had two Popes at the same time, one at Rome, the other at Avignon. Both claimed to be the true successor of Peter, and each condemned and excommunicated the other and his adherents. This greatly troubled the consciences of men, for both Popes could not be legitimate incumbents of their office, and which one should be believed? This caused in the public mind a further decline of the papal authority, at the same time it caused much confusion in the government of the Church and gave rise to many pernicious practices.

Many earnest men, and among them the chancellor of the University of Paris, John Gerson, pointed to an Ecumenical Council as the best means of remedying the evil. Such a council, it was thought, would bring about a reformation of the Church in both head and members, i. e. put a stop to the disastrous schism and abolish various abuses. At last a church council was called at Pisa, in 1409. This body deposed both of the contending Popes and elected a new one. This attempt at reformation resulted in giving the Church three Popes.

instead of two, for the two that were deposed refused to accept the decision of the Council.

There was now nothing to do, but to call another Church Council. This convened at Constance, in 1414. As soon as the convention had opened with this important declaration, that an Ecumenical Council was superior to the Pope, the three Popes were deposed and a new one elected, who became generally acknowledged. But this was all that the convention could do to stop the ecclesiastical abuses. The new Pope opposed most vigorously every timely reform proposed. To settle the ecclesiastical and political troubles that had arisen in Bohemia, he was compelled to call another Ecumenical Council, at Basel, in 1431. When this assembly showed a serious determination to remedy the evils of the Church, the Pope neutralized its labors by calling opposing Councils and suspending the one at Basel. The latter was finally dissolved, in 1443, without having accomplished anything toward the reformation of the Church.

These councils are known as Reforming Councils on account of the purpose for which they had been called. That they failed in their purpose was owing not only to the opposition of Popes, but also to the nature of the reformation they sought to effect. This was mainly to remedy a few of the worst abuses of the Church, while the false doctrines in which these abuses had their origin were left untouched. To the Popes, however, the theory of the power of the Church Councils was a continual source of annoyance. Being an inheritance from the early Church, the principle, once revived was not readily abandoned.

Towards the close of the 15th century, papacy degenerated still more. At that time the papal chair was

occupied by several successive men, notorious for their tyranny, worldliness, and gross immorality. The worst of these was Alexander VI. († 1503). This evil had at least this good result that it gave rise to a deep and general longing for a thorough reformation.

48. **Worship.** Worship during the Middle Ages appealed principally to the emotions and imparted little Christian knowledge. With the celebration of the mass (par. 24) as a central thought were connected a large number of prayers and ceremonies, so that very little time was left for Scripture reading, and preaching, although occuring now and then, was no longer considered an essential part of the high mass. Even the instruction that could have been derived from the prayers and Scripture reading was lost, as the whole mass was carried out in Latin which the common people did not understand.

Connected Scripture reading at worship had given way, especially during the era of doctrinal development, to selections (pericopes) appropriate to the day. In the beginning of the Middle Ages the reading of selections was universal, and the texts in use were mainly the same as the epistle and gospel selections used to-day.

The eucharist as a sacrificial act received additional support in the doctrine that the bread and wine at the moment of consecration were changed in essence to the body and blood of Christ (transubstantiation). This doctrine, traces of which may be found in some of the early church fathers, originated in the Eastern Church. It was more fully developed at a later date in the West by Paschasius Radbertus (died 865), abbot at Corbie and a cotemporary of St. Ansgar. The opposite view, that the bread and wine merely signified the body and blood of Christ had still here and there a talented

defender. But the great majority were better satisfied with a view which made the value of the eucharist more tangible. The doctrine of transubstantiation was thus generally accepted, and at the Fourth Lateran Synod, in 1215, it was *formally adopted as a correct expression of the faith of the Church.*

With this doctrine were connected several other errors in faith and practices. The priests feared lest in the distribution they might accidentally spill a drop of the wine thus changed to the blood of Christ, and, hence, withheld the cup from the laity. This custom they attempted to justify by the thought that the bread as constituting the body of Christ must also contain the blood of Christ ("de concomitantia", adopted at Constance, 1415).

The consecrated bread (hostia), which was now looked upon as Christ's bodily presence, became an object of worship. A special festival, "*Corpus Christi*", was instituted, in 1264, to commemorate the transubstantiation miracle.

The principal feature in the eucharist was no longer the distribution and receiving of the consecrated elements, but the sacrifice effected by reading of the mass. This sacrifice, commonly called the sacrifice of the mass, was looked upon as a repetition (though bloodless) of the sacrifice on the cross, and was believed to be meritorious before God on the part of those for whom it was offered, and that well-nigh without regard to the person's spiritual condition. It could be performed not only for those present, but also for such as were absent (private masses), and even for the dead.

Only the priest could celebrate mass, and the clergy were more than ever looked up to as mediators between God and man. As large numbers were anxious

The 7 sacraments fixed since Peter the Lomb 1164.)

ARCHBISHOP AND CHOIRBOYS AT A LITURGICAL ACT.

to secure these blessings many masses were required to be said, and special arrangements were finally made for the saying of mass by different priests at the same time in the same church. The mass became a source of great income, for, as a rule, it was said only in return for gifts and bequests to churches and cloisters.

After the consecration of the elements their elevation took place at the sound of a small bell. The congregation fell upon their knees and worshiped Christ as visibly present. Such an adoration even took place in the streets, when the host was carried by the priest to the sick and the dying.

When preaching occurred during the Middle Ages, it took place either before or after the high mass and without any connection with the same. Charlemagne and some of the better Popes did all in their power to keep up the preaching, but for want of suitable preachers it was allowed to decline. It often consisted of legends and apocryphal narratives more conducive to laughter than edification. During the latter part of the era preaching became more general. There were found at that time many distinguished preachers such as St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Tauler the Mystic.

By the introduction of choirs the congregation was excluded from singing at the public worship. Only the prayer: Kyrie Eleison (Lord have mercy upon us) was sung by the people. This prayer was also used on other occasions. This was particularly the case in Germany, where large masses of people would gather at the festivals and sing the quoted words over and over again. In this way the religious song of the common people degenerated into a meaningless screaming. To put some meaning into these tones it was necessary to use German words. Thus arose the first German hymns called "leisen" as they had grown out of and ended with Kyrie Eleison. One of these is the Easter leise:

Christ ist erstanden
Von der Marter Banden;
Dess sollen wir alle froh sein.
Christ will unser Trost sein.
Kyrie Eleison.

In addition to the leisen there arose during the Middle Ages the so-called sequences. They were composed in Latin. Even they

were called forth by the need of words to the musical tone. At the greater festivals the choirs sang *hallelujah*. The last syllable became in time protracted more and more according to the rules then obtaining in music. In place of this protraction followed the sequence. Finally each greater festival had its separate sequence. "Veni, Sancte Spiritus!" (Holy Spirit, Lord of Light) is one of these sequences. (See Church Book 245).

49. **Saint Worship and other Superstitions.** The idolatrous veneration of the Virgin Mary and the saints was on the increase. New festivals were instituted in their honor, and the people called eagerly on them for their intercession. Relics were highly valued and gave rise to much superstition. Image-worship was increasing. Against this form of superstition several Emperors of the East, in the 8th century, remonstrated and decreed that images should neither be found nor worshiped in the churches. But the people headed by the monks arose against these decrees. They were supported by both the patriarch of Constantinople and the Pope of Rome, both of whom defended the worship of images. Thus it became an easy matter for the image-loving Empress Theodora to restore the images in the churches and require their worship, in 842.

In the West a synod at Frankfort-am-Main, in 794, at the suggestion of Charlemagne agreed to a compromise that *images should be allowed in the churches but should not be worshiped.* But even here public opinion and the authorithy of the Popes soon made image-worship general.

Repeating prayers began to be looked upon as a meritorious deed. The prayer of the heart gave way to the repetition of set prayers. The most common of these were: *Pater Noster* (the Lord's Prayer) and *Ave Maria* (the salutation to Mary). To facilitate the numbering of the prayers said the rosary was invented.

The rosary consists of a number of beads of different sizes on a string. The complete rosary has 15 decades or tens of smaller beads and between each decade a large bead. For every small bead "*Ave Maria*" is said and for every large one a "*Pater Noster*", thus in the complete rosary are 150 "Ave Marias" and 15 "Pater Nosters". Some rosaries contain a smaller number of beads.

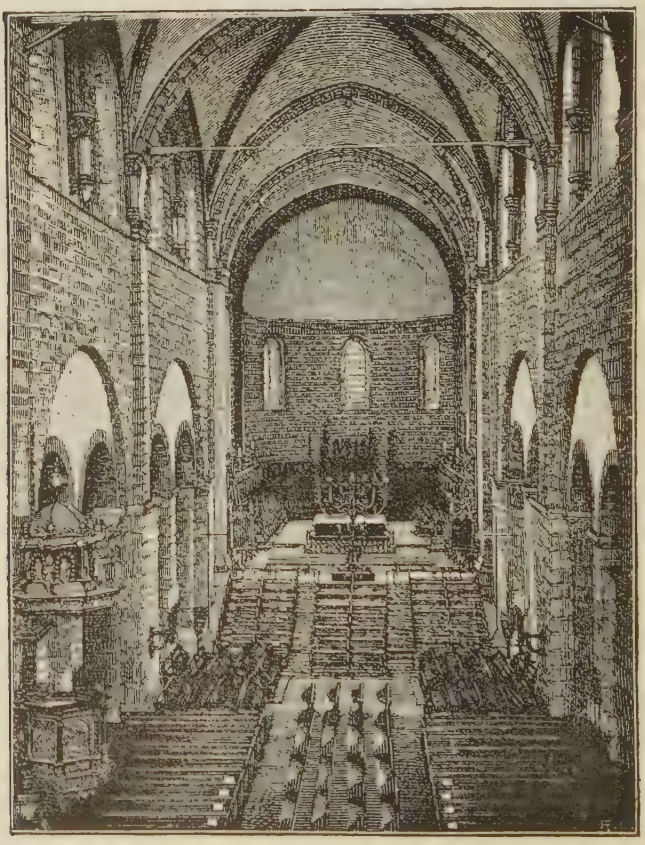
The Ave Maria reads as follows:

"Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus (Luke 1: 28). Benedictus fructus ventris tui (Luke 1: 42), Jesus Christus! Amen. Sancta Maria, Dei genitrix, ora pro nobis peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis! Amen." (Hail, Mary, highly favored, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women; blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ. Amen. Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and in the hour of death. Amen.)

50. **The Church Art.** Out of the basilica style of architecture there grew during the Middle Ages two new styles of building, the Romanesque (e. g. cathedral of Lund, page 97) and the Gothic (cathedral of Uppsala, page 98). A Romanesque church is distinguished from the basilica by its vaulted ceiling. The round arch is predominant. The Gothic style is characterized by its pointed arch. Church bells came into use, and to have a place for them the churches were built with spires which should also serve to direct the eye and the mind upward. In the interior of the edifices the pulpit was built high and several altars were placed because of the great number of masses to be said. The altar in the middle of the choir recess of the church was the principal one and was called the high altar. Novelties of these times were the baptismal font and the confessional.

The interior of the churches were ornamented with exquisite productions, both paintings and sculptures. These bear testimony to the fact that in spite of all errors there was found an unusual depth and truth in the Christian feeling and imagination of the times. Even music was steadily developing.

The confessional was introduced in the latter part of the Middle Ages and consists of two apartments, one for the confesser and one for the father-confessor, so arranged that they can hear but



Interior of the Cathedral at Lund.

not see each other. This was done in order that the confesser might, if so desired, remain unknown to the priest and thus not be prevented by bashfulness from making a full confession of his sin.

c. Life and Doctrine.

51. **The Influence of the Church upon Society.** At no other time did the Church exert such an influence in all directions as during the Middle Ages. Through her agency order and stability was introduced among the Teutonic tribes; her strong organization served as a model for the rising states. She labored for improvement in jurisprudence, and sought to restrict the rough feuds so common in those turbulent times. Trough monks and priests the spiritual as well as material development was promoted, and the rulers, that labored for the elevation of their subjects, found their most efficient helpers among the men of the Church.

On the other hand there were many Popes and prelates who to further their selfish ends did not scruple to excite war and revolts, and thus weaken the authority of all government. Furthermore the Church acquired an oppressive guardianship over the states and insisted upon retaining the same, even when the latter were ripe for a more independent development. For this reason there arose incessant struggles between the state and the Church, and for the settling of these disputes there was needed a reformation which should give the state sufficient freedom to work out its own particular ends.

Private feuds the Church sought to restrict by the so-called "Truce of God", an armistice, which should be observed from Wednesday evening to Monday morning, from the first Sunday in Advent to Epiphany, from the beginning of Lent until eight days after Easter, and from Ascension Day until eight days after Pentecost.

52. **The Educational and Disciplinary Work of the Church.** Within the Church infant baptism was now the rule. For the instruction of the baptized children very little was done. In general, all were satisfied, if the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer could be repeated from memory by the young. Upon the elder members the Church exerted a strong influence through her institu-

tions by which she hedged them in on all sides. This was especially done by the individual or private penance.

True penance included contrition of heart, confession, and satisfaction. Confession consisted in the enumeration of all sins before the confessor. This was called auricular confession and every adult was expected to make such a confession at least once a year.

The one who penitently confessed his sins received absolution, which was looked upon as an acquittal for Christ's sake from all eternal punishments. On the other hand it was held, that the sinner had to suffer the temporal punishments for his sins. From such punishments release could be secured by means of good works, such as prayers, alms, pilgrimages, etc. Such works were called satisfactions. Whoever could not furnish these satisfactions during lifetime had to undergo a painful process of purification in purgatory.

The Church, however, knew how to lighten the burden of satisfactions and alleviate the torments of purgatory. Christ had — such was the doctrine — earned more than was necessary to ransom man from eternal death; furthermore, the saints had not only fulfilled all that the law demanded of them, but by following the so-called evangelical injunctions — to live a celibate life, enter convents, etc. — they had performed superabundant works. All these works of supererogation constituted an immense treasure which the Church had at its disposal and from which it could give to those who were in need. Recipients of these gifts received also a corresponding reduction of satisfactions. This was called indulgence.

At first indulgence was granted only to such as had taken upon themselves to perform some great work to

the honor of God or the saints, or for the good of the Church. Thus indulgence was bestowed upon those who built churches, engaged in a crusade against the enemies of the faith and the Church, or who made pilgrimages to Rome during the year of jubilee. Before long it was deemed expedient to sell indulgences for money, and this not only for the living, but also for the dead. Contrition of heart was, indeed, a requirement for obtaining indulgence, but the indulgence-venders were not very strict in enforcing this condition. They rather encouraged the people in the belief that indulgence itself gave remission of sins. The sale of indulgences did more than anything else to lead men away from true repentance and lull them to sleep, and at the same time make the need of a thorough reformation keenly felt by all who had an awakened conscience.

If a person in some flagrant way was disobedient, or promulgated a doctrine contrary to that of the Church he might be put under the ban. A community responsible for some great crime might be placed under the interdict, which implied suspension of all public worship. The ban and the interdict were greatly feared even to the close of the Middle Ages. At the opening of the Modern Age they were less dreaded, both because of the freer views held by many, and because of the too frequent use made of these means by certain Popes against their political enemies.

For the purpose of detecting heretics and force them to confess their error the inquisition was instituted in 1229.

Of the Church Bans there were, a lesser which excluded from the Lord's Supper and a greater which entailed a loss of all church privileges. The greater ban was accompanied by a loss of certain

civil rights and in some instances by outlawry and even capital punishment.

A certain writer thus describes the condition at a place under the papal interdict: "The church bells are silent, the altars and the images are stripped of their ornaments and covered up, even the images on the outside of the church are thus covered. Only dragons, lions, and monsters remains uncovered to inspire the beholders with horror. The church doors are shut, only in profound stillness may the mass be said; in some instances the priest remains in the vestibule, where he briefly speaks to the multitude who appear in penitential garb. No dead are buried in consecrated ground, except the priest, the beggar, the traveller, and little children under two years of age. Marriage is solemnized over the graves of the dead. The congregation fasts, no one shaves nor cuts his hair. No interchange of greetings are allowed. Everything must bear the marks of a land under a curse, where the spirit must suffer the pangs of hunger and thirst."

The Church had already during the previous era had recourse to the sword against persistent heretics. She had thus entered upon the path on which she steadily advanced during the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Era. This was a dangerous way. For, first of all, a faith called forth by compulsion is of little value; furthermore, many of the leading men in Church and state were subjected to the most cruel sufferings, because they could not approve of the false doctrines and practices then in vogue. Thus there arose within the papal Church a religious persecution which in time, compass, and studied cruelty far exceeded that of the pagans against the Christians in the early ages of the Church. What wonder that the Church degenerated, when she fought her battles with wordly weapons and allowed the Sword of the Spirit to lie unused? What wonder that she was exposed to storms and tempests, when she had become drunk with the blood of the saints?

The Inquisition was the most cruel means for these persecutions. Had it contented itself with bringing civil punishment upon such persons as openly opposed the doctrine and ordinances of the Church, it would even then from a higher Christian standpoint be censured, as offences against the Church ought to be followed by church punishments; yet it could in a measure have been defended during a time when spiritual and temporal, ecclesiastical and civil affairs were so closely interwoven. But there developed a marked

eagerness to apprehend heretics, real as well as suspected. Wherever the inquisition was established a despicable system of espionage was inagurated. To obtain general co-operation informers were given a share in the confiscated property of the victims, and many were induced from motives of avarice or personal grudge to go the errands of the inquisition.

Those who were apprehended by the inquisition very seldom escaped punishment. The accusers and witnesses were unknown to the accused and charges wholly unsustained often secured conviction. The examination of the accused was held less for the purpose of discovering the truth than to call forth ambiguous answers that could be given an unfavorable interpretation. A ready confession of guilt freed the accused fron capital punishment, but as a rule it brought confiscation of property, imprisonment, or a long penance in a special garb (san benito, saccus bededictus, blessed sack). Those who did not confess guilt or had nothing to confess were made to languish in dungeons or subjected to the most painful tortures. Many of the innocent and unfortunate victims pleaded guilty to everything simply to escape the agonies of the torture. Capital punishment was generally inflicted by burning at the stake. The execution was public. In Spain it was connected with many solemn ceremonies, and became an "auto da fe" (an act of faith).

The worst scenes of the iniquities of the inquisition were in Italy, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Germany. England and the Northern countries were almost wholly exempt from its cruelties. It reached its height during the latter part of the 15th century (in Spain) and during the period of the Reformation. The most famous inquisitor was the Spaniard Torquemada, who aimed at freeing his country from Jews and Mohammedans. We can begin to estimate the extent of the power of the inquisition, when we note that Torquemada alone caused about 8,000 persons to be burned at the stake, and 6,500 more who during the trial died or made their escape were burned in effigy. The victims in the Netherlands during the reign of Charles V. are, with probable exaggeration, estimated at 50,000 to 100,000 persons. That the inquisition often became the tool of tyrannical rulers can hardly excuse the Church, for in this matter she lent herself as a willing servant to political intrigue and cruelty.

The more humane spirit of modern times has abolished this most cruel institution. At present there is but one inquisitorial

tribunal left — the one in the Vatican — but it does not now apprehend heretics, only heretical writings.

53. **The Religious and Moral Condition.** The Teutonic race has a deep religious character which manifested itself in the pious devotion of the people to the Church and its institutions, in the munificent gifts to churches and cloisters, and in the general enthusiasm for the extension of Christianity. Certain men and women among them shone as bright stars by their deep and genuine piety and their willingness to sacrifice everything for the good of others. Magnificent institutions of charity testify to the fact that religion was a mighty force during the Middle Ages.

But there were some grave defects in both the religious and moral life. The legalism of the Old Testament which had already manifested itself in the early Church now completely controlled church life. As a consequence an undue importance was placed upon outward deeds and ascetic exercices, while little attention was paid to the condition of the heart. And, hence, under the pious surface there often dwelt a haughty spirit. This accounts for the sharp contrasts that are so noticeable during the Middle Ages: *gross superstition*, *ruthless brutality*, and *wanton immorality*.

Elizabeth of Thuringia was a Hungarian princess who at the early age of four came to the landgrave of Thuringia, who lived in great style at the Castle of Wartburg, then widely known for its literary atmosphere. Here Elizabeth was to be educated by the landgrave as she was betrothed to his young son Louis. During her early years she was a sweet and lovely child. She was of a joyous and happy disposition, but even in her plays she showed that in the depth of her soul there dwelt religious earnestness and sincerity. When grown she married Louis, who had already succeeded his father as ruler. With the whole love of a pure and noble soul she clung to her husband who was equally known for his piety and his valor.

Here begins the most beautiful and attractive part of her short but eventful life. She deported herself as a tender and loving spouse and exercised herself most zealously in all Christian virtues, especially in humility and sympathy, charity and self-sacrifice. Her mode of living was simple in the extreme. Together with her maids she spun the wool for the garments of Franciscan monks and the poor. She made long journeys on foot to visit the sick, spoke cheerfully to them, and always brought a gift of some kind. At the foot of Wartburg, she established a home for the poor, and for orphans. Legends have ascribed various miracles to her, and these may be regarded as a wreath of flowers with which posterity has adorned the picture of the lovely princess.

Soon, however, there began for her a time of sorrow and suffering. Her husband died in southern Italy on his way to the Orient to take part in the crusade of Fredrick II. In addition to this the brother of the landgrave took his brother's possessions by force and showed the most heartless cruelty to his poor sister-in-law. From Wartburg she had to flee with her young children, and the inhabitants in the neighboring town of Eisenach showed their benefactress the greatest ingratitude and heartlessness, mostly out of fear for the new ruler. Only with difficulty could she find shelter for herself and her little ones. She had to live in poverty and misery for a while, until she finally received the castle of Marburg as a jointure, where she spent the remaining years of her life.

Even before the death of her husband she received as her confessor and spiritual adviser a man of the most unenviable reputation, Conrad of Marburg, the most cruel of Germany's inquisitors. With fanatic perseverance and grim consistency he endeavored after Elizabeth's removal to Marburg to make her a saint by completely crushing her own will and imposing the severest discipline to which she willingly and even joyfully submitted.

Her severe asceticism appears unnatural and even repulsive to a sound religious feeling. Heavy lashes were laid on her back. The faithful maids she had been surrounded with from childhood had to leave the house, and in their place a boorish maid and a deaf widow were employed for the purpose of trying the humility and patience of the poor princess. She engaged in the most menial duties, dressed in a gray frock worn to tatters, and commanded her maids to address her with the familiar *thou* instead of any more polite title, and sit beside her as equals. She so devoted herself to the care of the sick that she had no time for her own children. She

sent them away in order to subdue her love to her own flesh and blood, believing that she thus did God a service.

In Conrad of Marburg we find the culmination of the severe legalism of the Middle Ages that endeavored by force to create a kingdom of holiness on earth. Elizabeth of Thuringia is one of the noblest victims of this tendency. Subdued, crushed in body and spirit, she died at the early age of twenty-four years (1231). Soon after her death she was canonized by the Pope.

Toward the close of the Middle Ages there was organized the order of the Sisters of Elizabeth who should imitate the noble woman in her care for the sick and poor. In our time this order has extended its activity to various places in Protestant Europe.

Ascetic life reached its climax in the processions of the Flagellants. These processions became most common in times of pestilence, earthquakes, and other calamities. They began about the middle of the thirteenth century and did not close till about the beginning of the fifteenth. They spread like an epidemic and swept all with them, men and women, high and low, young and old. Sometimes the participants in a single procession were numbered by the thousands. In close ranks they marched from city to city, uttering bitter lamentations and singing penitential hymns, at the same time scourging each other so that blood flowed profusely — all to pacify and avert the wrath of God. They reached their height during the ravages of the black-death.

These movements were an expression of tormented consciences, anxiously seeking peace with God. But this peace was not sought at the right source and could, therefore, not be found. These processions frequently led to scandalous scenes, so that the Popes sought first to discourage them, and finally forbade them altogether.

Toward the close of the Middle Ages morals sank to a low level. Wordliness and immorality prevailed among the servants of the Church, the Popes themselves often leading the way. The ecclesiastics were not able to met the demands of the times even in general learning. Respect for the Church continued to decrease; and as contempt for the guardians of religion increased there followed among the educated a disregard for religion itself. Learning, talent, and taste were considered the highest human aims. The moral decline kept pace with the religious. From the courts immorality spread to the lower classes to such an extent that

possibly never before had society sunk as low as at the close of the Middle Ages.

54. **Monasticism.** Monastic life was the ideal of the Middle Ages, and was regarded as the only one leading to Christian perfection. In it the religious life of the age developed both its merits and its defects.

At first the monks of the Benedictine order did a great and good work in the Church of the West, but with the increase of power and wealth worldliness and immorality developed in the cloisters, especially after they were freed from the supervision of the bishops. To improve the existing conditions and restore discipline and good order associations of various cloisters were made and placed under a common supervision. The greatest of these associations was the congregation of Clugny, so named for its principal monastery, Clugny, in Burgundy. Another very celebrated order was that of the Cistercians, founded for the same purpose. Its most celebrated member was St. Bernard of Clairvaux (died 1153). It has also been called the order of St. Bernard. Monks of this order founded the first monasteries in Sweden: *Alvastra* in Östergötland, *Varnhem* in Vestergötland, *Nydala* in Småland — all established near the middle of the twelfth century.

One monastic order originated in Sweden. It comprised both monks and nuns and was founded, in 1370, by St. Bridget, or Birgitta, a pious woman of noble birth. It was called by her the order of our Saviour, but is better known as the order of St. Bridget. The principal monastery was located at Vadstena (in the central part of southern Sweden). The order spread over the greater part of Europe, and labored for a time with great success by preaching and spreading religious literature, especially in the northern countries.

The Crusades gave birth to a number of spiritual orders of knights, whose members were to fight the infidels (moslems), care for the sick and poor, and thus unite the duties of the knight and monk. These were the Knights of St. John (founded about 1050, also called Hospitallers), The Templars (founded 1118), and the Teutonic Knights (founded 1120).

A Knight Templar.

Of the greatest importance to the mediæval Church were, however, the Mendicant Orders. The two most important were the Dominicans and Franciscans. St. Dominic, a Spanish canon, had during a journey in France learned to know the great danger that threatened the Church from the large number of heretics found there, and he determined to devote his life to their conversion. Barefooted, clad in a black cloak with a rope around his waist (afterwards the official garment of the order) he began his itinerary preaching. A number of like-minded persons joined him and he organized with them a society whose object it should be to preach the Word and convert the heretics. Soon (1215) the new order received the sanction of the Pope under the name of the

Preaching Brothers, or Friars. They are, however, better known from their founder as Dominicans. They are also known from their black cloak as the Black Friars. The order was forbidden to hold any possessions. Its members were to live on alms. In their great zeal for the conversion of heretics, the Dominicans did not always make use of the same praiseworthy means as their founder. They on the other hand acquired a sad notoriety for the use they made of the inquisition, which instrument was soon placed entirely in their hands.

To labor in *preaching* and *spiritual ministrations*, and to *abstain from temporal possessions* were also the rules of the Franciscan order. It was so named for St. Francis of Assisi, a man who with an enthusiasm bordering on fanaticism accounted it his greatest joy to follow his Saviour in the most abject poverty and self-denial in order to serve his fellowmen. The Franciscans wore a gray garment and, hence, were also known as Gray Friars.

Both orders attained a great and far reaching influence. The members did not remain within cloister cells, but went out into the world and served as preachers and confessors. Among the common people they had a greater influence even than the priests. Men from among them were chosen as professors in the higher institutions of learning. The Pope always befriended them and in return they became the strongest props of the papal power. The rule of espousing poverty and renouncing all earthly possessions could not be maintained in the long run, and upon wealth and power followed also a decline in their cloisters.

A third order of Mendicants was that of St. Augustine of somewhat later origin. It was of this order that Luther became a member.

ST. BRIDGET.

St. Bridget and her institution. In the beginning of the fourteenth century there was born on an estate in Roslagen, Sweden, the prophetess from the North, St. Bridget, the only person from Sweden who acquired European distinction during the Middle Ages.

Her father, the renowned lawyer from Uppland, Birger Persson, and her mother were both pious Catholics and sought to arouse in the daughter an intense religious feeling. At the age of eleven, after the death of her mother, Bridget took up her home in Östergötland with an aunt, a strict and determined woman. Here she developed that strength of character which afterwards gave her such power over her surroundings. What especially characterizes her is a remarkable willpower and a moral superiority in connection with a deep religious convinction and an earnestness which bordered on frenzy. While yet young she was married to a lawyer, Wolf Gudmarsson, a noble but weak character. With reverent devotion he looked up to his wife, who in turn clung to her husband with true fidelity. They had four sons and four daughters. In the education of her children Bridget showed great wisdom and intelligence. Together with her husband she submitted to severe penance, visited churches and cloisters, took care of the sick and destitute, undertook long pilgrimages first to Uppsala (shrine of St. Eric) and Trondhjem (St. Olaf), afterwards to Compostella (shrine of James, the Elder). After their return from the last troublesome journey, Gudmarsson died, in 1344, in Alvastra cloister, whither he had retired to end his days in peace.

The death of her husband seemed to make a deep impression on Bridget. Henceforth she led a stricter life and before her spiritual eye appeared visions or revelations, in which Christ himself or the Virgin Mary were exhorting to faith and charity, to good works and severe penance, or uttering dire warnings. Around herself she assembled pious and learned men who assisted her in translating her visions into Latin which language she together with her daughter Catherine learned. Meanwhile her zeal increased and the scope of her work widened. She felt herself called by God to arouse the debased and spiritually enfeebled Church to repentance. In the first place she turned to her kinsman, the frivolous Magnus Ericsson and directed to him and his court strong words of warning. Even to foreign princes she sent sharp admonitions. It was at this time that she began to think of founding a new order for educating pious young men and women to carry on a holy warfare against a wicked and perverse world.

In company with her son Birger she left Sweden, in 1349, to take part in the great jubilee that should be celebrated in Rome the following year. Here she remained quite a while, and divided

her time between devotion and charity, going from church to church, helping the destitute, comforting those in sorrow, and reprimanding the impenitent. She burned with the zeal which of old drove the prophets of Israel to pronounce judgment over rulers, priests, and people, and she hesitated not in exposing the godlessness and immorality among high and low — especially the ecclesiastics — in the city that formerly sheltered so many saints and had been a witness of the death of so many martyrs. The Pope himself did not escape her rebukes, although she held his office in the greatest reverence. No wonder that she caused quite a sensation and exerted a strong influence not only in Rome, but also over the whole of Italy.

As the Popes at this time resided at Avignon and seldom visited Rome, she did not receive papal sanction for her order before 1370. Later, in her old age, she made a pilgrimage to the holy sepulcher at Jerusalem. Soon after her return to Rome she died, in 1373, at the age of 73.

Bridget named her order for the Saviour (St. Salvator's). According to her conviction, the rules for it had been revealed to her by Christ himself. It is, however, more commonly called by her name. The number of sisters was sixty. In addition to this the order had thirteen priests and four helpers (deacons), besides eight ministering brethren who had charge of the menial labors. The order was ruled by an abbess with extensive authority who was chosen by the sisters.

The convent regulations were very strict. Songs and prayers like *Ave Maria* and *Pater Noster* were to be frequently said. Fasting was prescribed for certain seasons and days. Strong and nourishing food was forbidden. Food consisting of vegetables, fish, and milk was preferred. At the church door should be placed a bier, and in the center of the church should be found an open grave, around which the sisters should daily sing "De profundis" (Ps. 130). No member of the cloister was allowed to go outside of the walls. The sisters were not allowed to speak to each other until the great mass had been said; visits were seldom allowed, a nun was never permitted to speak to visitors, except in the presence of witnesses.

Monks and nuns were to live in separate houses on opposite sides of the church. The sisters should make confession to one of the priests at some window where they could be heard but not seen. Only in two instances were the priests allowed to enter the

sisters' side of the convent, namely when the sacrament should be administered to a sick nun and when a funeral took place.

Besides devotional exercises the nuns were occupied with needle-work and lace-making, and the monks were kept busy copying books and translating them to the vernacular, sometimes with original compositions. Every Sunday there should be popular preaching in the vernacular to which also the people of the neighborhood should have access.

The garb of the nun consisted of a gray dress of worsted with a black leather belt around the waist and a gray cloak covering the whole. That of the monks was of the same color.

The refectory in the cloister was a great vaulted room, but the cells were small, about six feet wide and twelve feet long with a small aperture in the wall to serve as a window.

The cloister at Vadstena enjoyed a great reputation for a long time. Thousands of pilgrims wended their way thither yearly to confess their sins and receive absolution. Such pilgrims often gave rich donations to the cloister. Even members of royal families, e. g. queen Margaret and king Christopher were enrolled in the cloister. Queen Philippa, wife of king Eric of Pomerania, died there. In the different countries daughter-institutions were established and during the most prosperous time of the institution there were found not less than 70 such convents. In the Catholic countries there are still a number of convents of St. Bridget.

Toward the close of the Middle Ages the discipline of the Vadstena cloister became less rigid, as luxury and high living crept in with increasing wealth. This convent, the last one in Sweden, was finally suppressed, in 1595, by Duke Charles, after an existence of more than two hundred years.

On the religious literature of the northern countries down to the Reformation the order exerted the greatest influence. A lively intercourse in literary matters existed between the Scandinavian convents of the order. The literature of St. Bridget's order was written in a composite language of the northern dialects with a predilection for the Swedish. Although the greater portion consisted of translations, yet this literature had a great influence on the development of the Swedish language and attained in those times a very wide circulation.

St. Francis of Assisi. In the little mountain town of Assisi, 100 miles north of Rome, the founder the Franciscan order was born,

in 1182, and was carefully educated by his father, a rich merchant, though not for any of the learned professions. He was a gay and light-hearted youth and took an active and worthy part in the wars of his native land. He was taken captive and spent a year in prison among his enemies. After his return home he was attacked by a serious illness which wrought a complete change in him. With great self-denial he now devoted himself to the care of the sick and was most liberal to the poor and needy. If he found a leper he gave him the brotherly kiss without hesitation.

Monk in Robe of Order.

He soon began to receive revelations in the form of dreams and visions. Once while at prayer he thought he heard a voice saying: "Go and repair my ruined Church." He interpreted the words in a literal sense and began to repair a dilapidated chapel near Assisi. To procure money for this purpose he sold his horse and also some of his father's property. The latter became so exasperated over this that he caused his son to be imprisoned and maltreated. Francis, however, did not trouble himself about this. He appealed to his heavenly Father, and, after his flight from home, he selected a beggar as his father, who should bless him, when his father after the flesh cursed him.

He now put on a friar's frock, exchanged his shoes for sandals and subjected himself to the severest discipline. Thrice every night he scourged himself with an iron chain first for his own sins, secondly for the sins of the world, and lastly for the souls in purgatory. After some time he returned to the vicinity of his home and

there spent two years in quiet meditations, without caring for the abuse heaped upon him. One day there was read in his hearing the 10th chapter of St. Matthew — the sending forth of the Apostles. He was so affected by it that he resolved to lead a life of apostolic self-denial and poverty. He discarded the sandals, for a belt he used a rope about his waist and carried no staff (Matt. 10: 10). The coarse gray frock with hood — originally the herdsman's garment, but afterward the uniform of the Franciscan monks — he retained. Thus clad he walked about the streets of the city as beggar and preacher of repentance. "Peace be with you", was his greeting to all he met, even to those who ridiculed him. Toward all he showed a soul-winning love, even toward the street rabble who threw stones and dirt at him.

Such a love coupled with patience was bound in the long run to awaken admiration in all nobler minds. Several persons associated themselves with him, among them several priests, also a rich burgher who sold all he had and gave the proceeds to the poor. These disciples he sent out two and two to preach the gospel. In some localities they were well received, in others they were rudely turned away.

When, in 1210, he had won ten adherents, he considered the time ripe for giving his followers a code of rules. First of all he inculcated poverty as a holy duty. They should deny themselves all luxuries and not feel ashamed of securing their livelihood through alms. Any one who could ply a trade should thus be occupied, but not for money, only for the necessities of life. Over the body they should gain control by fasting and by flogging themselves thrice a week.

The special efforts of the order were to be directed towards arousing a worldly people by an earnest preaching of repentance. They were also to care for the sick, and for them they were allowed to receive money, when necessity demanded the same. The opinion of men they should little regard, but be humble and kind to all, and leave the judgment of their enemies to God. They ought not to assume haughty, pharisaical airs, but always deport themselves in an open, hearty manner so as to inspire confidence. In order to show their humility the Franciscans called themselves the Minor Brethren (fratres minores), while on the other hand the Dominicans called themselves the Superior Brethren (fratres majores).

Having established a strict code for his order and organized a number of cloisters in Italy, he directed his attention to the con-

version of the Mohammedans. For this purpose he went to Egypt, was taken prisoner by the Saracens, and brought before the sultan. "I come", said he to the sultan, "sent by God to show you and your people the way of salvation." To prove the truth of Christianity he proposed to go through a fiery ordeal, if a Mohammedan priest to prove the truth of Islam was willing to do the same. But the sultan, who probably looked upon him as a demented fanatic, did not allow it. He was treated kindly, was offered large gifts which, however, he refused, and was finally given his freedom.

After his return home he continued his strict ascetic life till his body wasted gradually away. He died in a church in Assisi, in 1226, and was two years later canonized by the Pope.

Scarcely any other man has been so praised after his death as St. Francis. It was asserted that during the latter part of his life he bore the marks of Christ's five wounds, and attempts were made to show a number of similarities between him and Christ, even in the performance of miracles. Though we turn away from such idolatry, we cheerfully admit that he was a most extraordinary man. He was filled with a glowing love to God and man, and presented a remarkably blameless character. To his poetic soul all nature seemed alive and conscious. He addressed the earth, the vineyards, the trees, the flowers, the animals, the sun, the moon, and the stars as brothers and sisters and bade them join him in singing the glory of God.

Upon his age he exerted the greatest influence. Already during his life his order spread with extraordinary rapidity, and fifty years after his death there were not less than 8,000 Franciscan cloisters with 200,000 monks. But as his demands on frail human nature were too great, his work contained from the very beginning the seeds of deterioration, and before long his order like the rest fell into decay.

55. **Scholasticism.** In the convent and cathedral schools the priests received a meagre education for their calling. Out of the cathedral schools grew the universities which at first had but one faculty. The universities of Paris and Oxford were renowned as seats of theological learning. The university of Uppsala received its charter from the Pope in 1477.

Scholasticism originated in the cathedral schools

and from them passed to the universities. Its object was with the help of Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle, to systematize and vindicate the accepted creeds of the Church. The pious and keen-witted St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (died 1109) is usually regarded as its founder. He made a valuable addition to theological learning by his development of the doctrine of the vicarious atonement of Christ.

Peter Abelard (died 1142) was a gifted but restless spirit. In his zeal for the scientific development of church doctrine he approached the verge of rationalism. His views conflicted with various doctrines of the Church and he was, accordingly, persecuted and denounced as a heretic.

The subsequent scholastics, or schoolmen, accepted as true the prevailing church dogmas without inquiring whether they were based on the bible or merely derived from tradition (see par. 18), as in their view the latter had the same authority as the bible. Tradition did not only include an oral reproduction of the teaching of Christ and his Apostles, but everything that possessed ecclesiastical authority and sanction, e. g. important decision of Church Councils, expressions of opinion from the church fathers, papal decrees, concerning doctrine, government and cultus. It was, therefore, easy to find support for various human doctrines that were in direct opposition to the Word of God. By accepting and defending such fancies the schoolmen developed and strengthened the false teachings as well as practices of the Mediæval Church. As a result their system of theology contained many glaring contradictions to harmonize which cunning and sophistry were often resorted to, and this in the end brought scholasticism into disrepute.

As a compiler and systematizer of the church dogmas Peter Lombard (died 1164) gained great distinction. His manual of theology (Libri quattuor sententiarum) became the standard text-book of scholasticism in all subsequent times.

The Dominican Thomas Aquinas (died 1274) and the Franciscan John Duns Scotus (died 1308) were both distinguished for profound learning. Their followers were named after their masters Thomists and Scotists. The former followed St. Augustine in the doctrine of sin and grace, while the latter were Semi-Pelagians. Another controversy between them was that of the sinlessness of the Virgin Mary, which the Scotists affirmed and the Thomists denied.

56. **Mysticism.** Contemporary with scholasticism there was an opposite tendency in the Middle Ages known as *Mysticism.* While scholasticism gathered the material for its belief from Holy Writ and tradition, mysticism pointed to the word of the Holy Spirit in man as the source whence spiritual light and life came to him. Thus religion was less a matter of the intellect than of the heart and feeling, not mainly a knowledge of God, but a life-communion with him, a communion which could be acquired only by dying away from one's self and the world and through meditation becoming absorbed by the divine.

Mysticism was closely allied to Neo-Platonic philosophy. The mediæval mysticism always showed great affinity for pantheism, but as it emphasized doctrine less than self-abnegation in the following of Christ the erroneous tendency became less apparent; and on the other hand the religious fervor of mysticism formed a salutary off-set against the cant of scholasticism.

Mysticism had three periods of development:

a) The French (Romance) mysticism stood in close relation to scholasticism before the latter had degenerated. Its foremost representative was Bernard of Clairvaux. Several teachers in the convent school of St. Victor were mystics of renown, such as Hugo (died 1141) and the Franciscan Bonaventura (died 1274). These presented their mystic theology in scholastic forms.

b) The German mysticism which reached its height during the fourteenth century separated itself from scholasticism, which had now begun to degenerate. It was founded by the profound thinker Master Eckhart (died 1329), and was farther developed by the popular preacher John Tauler (died 1361), and found expression in the so-called German Theology, a work of an unknown hand, and much valued by Luther. These persons represented mysticism in its purest form.

c) The Dutch mysticism was altogether practical in its tendency. Its foremost representative was Thomas a Kempis (died 1471), whose celebrated work, *The Imitation of Christ*, is more widely circulated and read than any other devotional book, except the Bible.

The affinity of mediæval mysticism to Neo-Platonic philosophy had its origin in a literary production of the Orient attributed, though erroneously to Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17: 34). From this work the learned monk John Scotus Erigena (850) received impressions which led him into deep and for those times quite original investigations, and also inclined him towards pantheistic views. This tendency toward pantheism characterized the mysticism of the Middle Ages, as it in reality characterizes all extreme and one-sided mysticism.

Bernard of Clairvaux. This remarkable man was born in the year 1091 in Burgundy. His father was a brave and noble knight. His pious mother had consecrated him from his birth for the cloister. Early the boy manifested deep feeling and showed greater preference for religious matters than for play. At an early age he

began to study the bible and theological writings. His brothers wanted him to enter a learned profession, but his own inclination and the memory of his mother, who had died, while he was yet a youth, led him to choose a monastic life.

At this time there had arisen a new order of monks in Citeaux (Cistercium), Burgundy, whose strict regulations deterred the ordinary class from entering it. But Bernard on the other hand felt an inclination to join just such an organization. Together with thirty like-minded comrades he entered this order at the age of twenty-two, and discharged his monastic duties with the utmost faithfulness and diligence. Lest he should relax his ascetic zeal, he put this question continually to himself: "Bernard, why art thou here?" The report of his sanctity spread far and wide, and after a few years the cloister could not shelter all who sought admission. Then it was decided to found a new cloister with Bernard as abbot.

The new cloister was located 65 miles north of Citeaux in an uninhabited valley which received the name of Clairvaux (Clara vallis, pleasant vale). Here Bernard and his monks could hardly support themselves at first, but by indefatigable labor they changed the desolate place to a well cultivated tract which could support thousands of poverty stricken people in time of need. Profound stillness prevailed here, broken only by the busy hum of the monks at work in the field, and by their hymns of praise. The scene made a deep impression on all who visited the people, and it has been said that no one there dared to do an improper deed or speak a vulgar word.

Here Bernard went so far in his ascetic zeal that he ruined his health; later he censured himself for this. For sleep he thought he had no time, allowing himself only a few hours' rest each night. His food consisted of bread and milk or vegetables. Nearest the body he wore a garment of haircloth, which he afterwards discarded as the fact had become known and the regulations prescribed nothing about it. He would not appear holier than the rest of the brethren.

It was his custom, when he had fulfilled his outward duties, to withdraw from the rest to devote himself to prayer, meditation, studies, and literary work. The bible was his best book, he carried it with him even during his saunterings in the woods. Here in lonely meditation and prayer he learned to penetrate more fully into the truths of revelation. At such times the external world was seemingly dead to him. He had once been wandering a whole

day along the shores of the beautiful Genevan lake, but had not noticed its wonderful scenery, until some one called his attention to it. During such hours of solitude it was that he sometimes reached a mystic ecstasy, when he believed himself to behold the glory of God and taste of heavenly bliss.

He also found time to devote himself to practical things which proves his many-sidedness. His piety and sanctity, his great talents, his Christian experience, his knowledge of the human heart gave him a great reputation, and men's confidence in him was unbounded. He was asked to draw up the rules for the Knight Templars. In times of doubt and spiritual trials, many resorted to him for comfort and counsel. His sermons made a profound impression upon the masses who flocked to hear him. The literary taste of the times was unnatural and his sermons are tinged with allegorical expositions, flowery diction, numerous antitheses, yet they are full of deep and serious thought, mystical tenderness, and a burning love of Christ. They are powerful exhortations to repentance and a holy life.

Everywhere he made his influence felt for the protection of the suffering and the oppressed; he dared to defend truth and justice even against the great and mighty of this world. An example will illustrate this fact. A prince in France would not become reconciled to one of his bishops; even excommunication had no effect. Bernard once celebrated mass in his presence. Carrying the consecrated host in the holy vessel Bernard moved through the awe-stricken audience right down to the prince and conjured him in the name of the Saviour, bodily present, to reconcile himself with the bishop. As if struck by lightning the prince fell to the ground, his power of resistance was broken. It is even told of Bernard that he wrought many miraculous cures of the sick. When we consider what power he wielded over the minds of men and that he lived in a time of religious commotion, this will hardly surprise us.

On various occasions he figures as the most influential man in all Christendom. Two Popes had been chosen, neither was willing to yield to the other. Without hesitation Bernard decided to support the worthiest and succeeded in securing for him general recognition. At a later date he came forth as the preacher of a crusade. By his glowing eloquence he awakened the greatest enthusiasm. Multitudes pressed forward to receive the sign of the cross. Even the Germans along the Rhine who understood not his language

were moved by his gestures, his looks, and the tone of his voice. The prophetic confidence with which he predicted the successful issue of the enterprise fired even the most lukewarm and sluggish. The king of France and the Emperor of Germany went in person to the Orient. The failure of the enterprise, however, tended to reduce in a measure Bernard's reputation.

His attempt to convert the numerous heretics of southern France were less successful.

Least of all he appeals to us in his dealings with Abelard, known for his unhappy love for Heloise, a gifted and noble woman. This man possessed an independent, comprehensive spirit, but was too critical in his nature and aroused a great commotion by his theological speculations which were not in accord with the Church doctrine of those times. At a French synod Bernard caused the decree of reprobation to be passed on Abelard and through his influence the decree was ratified by the papal see. The two distinguished men were, however, finally reconciled.

From the busy world Bernard loved to retire to his cloister, where he might undisturbed commune with God in song and prayer. Of his religious compositions the best known is, "Salve caput cruentatum". He pined away slowly, and died in 1153. He was shortly afterwards canonized by the Pope.

The order of Cistercians attained a great growth through the fame of Bernard. At the time of his death 160 new cloisters had been planted. These were all furnished in the simplest style. In the cloister churches no ornaments were allowed, no paintings, except that of Christ. The crucifixes were of wood. The garments of the monks were severely plain. The monks were not allowed to hold any possessions.

To the Swedish people Bernard is of interest mainly, because upon the request of king Sverker the Elder, and his queen he sent monks to Sweden. Their peaceful cloisters built in beautiful spots became homes for the pious and learned men who developed not only a quiet and successful work for higher culture, but also for introducing better modes of agriculture and gardening than before.

57. **Heterodox and Reformatory tendencies.** A reformatory tendency seems to have extended through the Middle Ages and to have appeared in many forms. Many who urged such reform measures were extremists. They

rose in arms against everything that seemed permanent in the Church and thus cast away the good with the evil. In contrast to the stress that the Roman Church laid upon outward measures, they would have none and repudiated even Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

In the Orient there were many tendencies of this kind, e. g. the Paulicians of the seventh century. Seeds of their error were sown afterward in the West. In the eleventh century there arose several sects whose members were commonly known by way of reproach as the Cathari, i. e. the Pure, as they insisted that the Church should be an institution solely of the pure in heart. They were also called Albigenses after the city of Albi in France, which was regarded as the central point of these movements.

Mild means to restore them to the Church were first used. Bernard and Dominic preached among them. When every attempt of this kind had failed, severer measures were used. Innocent III. caused a crusade to be preached against them, and a bloody war of 20 years' duration (1209-1229) raged in southern France, devastating this populous and flourishing region, and nearly annihilating the sect of the Cathari. The remnant was wiped out by the inquisition.

As the heretics always referred to the bible in support of their teachings, the Church resorted to the unwise measure of forbidding the laity to read the bible. The first decree of this kind dates from Toulouse, France, 1229.

A purer evangelical spirit was found among the Waldenses, so called after *Peter Waldus*, a rich merchant of Lyons, France. By searching the Scriptures he had himself found the goodly pearl, and he was anxious that others should find it also. Therefore he spent his

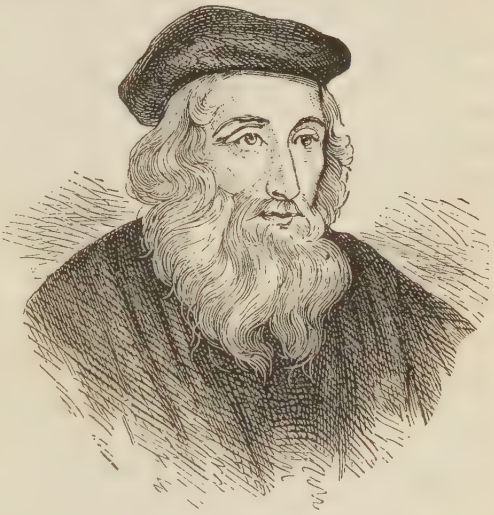
fortune in having the bible and other good books translated into the vernacular and circulated among the people; the remainder of his wealth he distributed among the poor. In 1170 he founded a society called the "Poor men of Lyons" which should preach the gospel to the people in city and rural districts.

It was not their intention from the beginning to separate from the Church. On the other hand they petitioned the Pope to confirm their society and sanction their translation of the bible. The Pope answered first by prohibiting their work, afterwards with the ban of the Church. A time of persecution followed their refusal to obey. Now their eyes were opened to the faults of the Church, and they began to denounce all doctrines and practices that had no support in the Scriptures. These were the highest authority for them in all matters pertaining to faith. The Waldenses were diligent in reading the bible and endeavored to live according to its teachings, so that even their adversaries had to acknowledge their thorough bible knowledge and their Christian life.

In southern France the Waldenses were most numerous and they suffered severely from the bloody Albigensian wars. Those wo survived these fled especially to the secluded valleys of Piedmont, where they found brethren in the faith. Here they established churches. From time to time they were harassed by cruel persecutions, yet a remnant has maintained itself to our times.

58. **Precursors of the Reformation.** During the time of the Western schism, when many voices raised a clamor for a *reformation of the Church in head and members*, there arose in *England*, *Bohemia*, and elsewhere persons who urged a *reformation of the heart*. They were, however, unable to carry through any thorough-going regeneration

of the Church, for the time was not yet ripe for this, furthermore they were to a serious degree tinged with the onesidedness of the age. In their opposition to the papal Church they were carried so far as to underrate the value of outward order and organization. In various ways they, however, prepared the way for the reformation, especially by emphasizing the Word of God as the only rule of faith and a holy life, and they may therefore justly be styled *Precursors of the Reformation.*



JOHN WYCLIFFE.

a) The first one to whom this name has been applied is the Englishman *John Wycliffe,* professor at the university of Oxford. He was a gifted man, of undaunted courage and equally zealous for religion and the fatherland. He made himself first felt as a skillful defender of English rights over and against the Pope. In this way he came into conflict with the bulwark of papacy, the mendicant monks. Later he attacked all the doctrines and practices of the Church (sale of indulgence, saint-worship, pilgrimages, etc.) which he considered to be contrary to the Word of God. He was,

however, unable fully to acquire biblical views. Thus for instance in his struggle against the doctrine of transubstantiation he was driven to deny the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; and in opposition to the tendency of the Church to overestimate the value of human works, he accepted the predestination doctrines of St. Augustine.

For the religious enlightenment of the people he caused a translation of the bible to be made from the vulgate into English, and sent out a large number of preachers to proclaim *the Word of God in the vernacular.* In this way there arose a powerful, spiritual movement which had numerous adherents, the so-called Lollards. It continued in spite of persecutions up to the time of the Reformation and became a potent factor in aiding the cause of the latter movement in England.

The mendicant monks did all in their power to silence their irrepressible opponent. They secured from the Pope several bulls condemning Wycliffe and his views. Being protected by the king and parliament Wycliffe escaped the fate that usually awaited heretics. He was, however, compelled to resign his professorship at Oxford and to withdraw to a pastorate in the country, where he was allowed to end his life in peace, in 1384.

b) The powerful testimony of Wycliffe against the corruptions of the Church was felt even on the continent of Europe, especially in Bohemia. Thither Wycliffe's writings were brought (about 1400) by a Bohemian knight, Jerome of Prague, who had been in England and had there learned to know and to value them.

At this time *John Huss* was engaged as professor in the university of Prague. Soon afterwards he became a preacher and presented the Word of God to the people in their own language with fiery ardor. Wycliffe's writ-

ings led him to see the errors and abuses of the Church. He soon arose in determined opposition to the Pope's pretensions to infallibility, indulgences, and, in general, everything that was contrary to the Word of God. Regarding the Church he held Wycliffe's view that it was composed only of those who were predestined to salvation. He, however, did not agree with Wycliffe in regard to the Lord's Supper, but held to the view of the Church.

The stand Huss had taken for the use of the mother-tongue at worship as well as his public spirit in general appealed to the patriotic feelings of the Bohemians. They had received the Latin language in their churches under protest, and they hailed with joy the attempt to restore the old conditions, when they could praise God in the congregation in their own tongue. Thus patriotism claimed a great share in the Hussite movement.

For his courageous opposition to the false doctrines of the Church Huss was placed under the papal ban and cited to appear before the Church Council at Constance, 1414. Supplied with a letter of safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund he appeared before the assembly, but as he was unwilling to recant, unless he was convinced of heresy by the Word of God, he was burned at the stake as an arch-heretic, in July, 1415. His friend Jerome of Prague shared his fate a year later.

When the death of their beloved teacher became known his adherents in Bohemia flew to arms. This war was not only a struggle for religious freedom but also an attempt to establish an independent Bohemian kingdom, and raged under the leadership of the brave but cruel Ziska with relentless fury. Several crusading armies suffered defeat. At last the Council of Basel succeeded in winning over a majority of them by the

following concessions: 1) Communion under both kinds; 2) preaching of the pure gospel in the native tongue; 3) strict discipline among the clergy; 4) renunciation by the clergy of church property. Those who accepted this were called Calixtines. The rest, known as Taborites, were afterwards vanquished, in 1434, and scattered throughout Bohemia and Moravia. Under the name of Bohemian Brethren they formed a few churches which with the Word of God as their strength maintained their existence, despite all persecutions, up to the time of the Reformation.

John Huss was born about the year 1369 in the Bohemian village of Hussinecz, whence his name. His parents were wealthy people of Czechic birth. Having finished his studies at the University of Prague, he lectured there and in 1402—3 held the position of president of the faculty of theology.

From childhood he was actuated by an earnest love of truth and at the beginning of his public career a spiritual awakening took place within him. To this circumstance contributed the study of Wycliffe's writings, and his ordination as priest. Shortly before this a rich burgher had established in Prague the Bethlehem chapel, where no mass was to be said, but the Word of God was to be preached to the people in the Bohemian tongue. In this chapel Huss was installed as preacher, in 1402. Here he had an ample opportunity to preach the Word of God to eager multitudes, and in this way he gained a deeper insight into the bible, and his life of faith became more mature.

During the following years he worked for reforms within the Bohemian Church with the approbation of the archbishop of Prague who had confidence in him. By this archbishop he was appointed preacher at the Bohemian provincial synods, and as such he reproved fearlessly and without regard to person the sins of the clergy. He succeeded in his efforts to put an end to a prevailing superstitious reverence for certain reputed relics. The people made pilgrimages in large numbers to a certain place, where the miraculous blood of Christ were shown on the consecrated host. Reports were circulated that miraculous cures had been wrought there. An investigation by Huss disclosed the fraud, and he published a paper

in which he showed that a Christian need not look for signs and wonders, but simply to hold fast to the Word of God.

Conditions soon changed. A matter concerning the university caused a break. The university students were divided into four so-called nations, the Bohemian, Bavarian, Polish, and Saxon, of which, in matters of common concern, each had a vote. King Wenzel of Bohemia desired his country to maintain a neutral position in the papal schism and the Bohemian nation sided with him, but not the three others. On the advice of Huss the king issued an edict in 1409, giving the Bohemian nation three votes, and to the remaining three together only one. The outcome was that more than a thousand teachers and students left Prague and founded a new university at Leipzig. Huss became rector of the purely Czechic university and stood now on the pinnacle of honor and power, esteemed and loved by a people whose national enthusiasm he had awakened.

JOHN HUSS.

The archbishop supporting the Pope at Rome became more and more bitterly opposed to him. A number of Wycliffe's books were publicly burned amidst the ringing of church-bells and the chanting of "Te Deum". The preaching in the Bethlehem chapel was forbidden; yet Huss and his friends were not to be deterred. In spite of the prohibition, Huss continued to preach to ever increasing audiences. His sermons assumed a still bolder tone. Often his hearers responded with loud acclamations and this increased the determination on both sides. The archbishop caused the ban of excommunication to

be solemnly pronounced on Huss and an interdict upon the city of Prague. But to this no attention seemed to be paid.

In the meantime the archbishop died, and there came a lull in the storm. Suddenly a new controversy arose. The Pope of Rome caused a crusade to be preached against the king of Naples, because he protected one of the opposition Popes, and to raise funds for the war indulgence venders were sent out. Even in Prague indulgences were sold for money. This aroused bitter and angry feelings. Huss and his adherents spoke openly against the indulgence venders and even against the Pope himself. A public disputation was held at which it was publicly declared concerning this crusade that no Pope or bishop should ever henceforth seize the sword in the name of the Church, for Christ had said to Peter: "Put up thy sword into the sheath." If the Pope desired to vanquish his opponents, he ought to imitate Christ, pray for his enemies, and bless those who cursed him. Concerning indulgence the opinion was expressed, that forgiveness of sins presupposed contrition and repentance; in no case could it be procured for money. — The assertion that the Pope was infallible was not only false, but also implied blasphemy. — It was Jerome of Prague, the friend of Huss, and who like him was afterwards burned at Constance, who at this disputation carried away his audience by his fiery eloquence.

Several unhappy street scenes now followed. The papal bulls concerning the war and indulgence were publicly burned with unbecoming ceremonies. The king prohibited under penalty of death all insult to the Pope and all railing against the papal bulls. Three young men, who in different churches had interrupted the indulgence preachers and asserted that indulgence was only falsehood and deceit, were executed. Their bodies were taken by a band of students and carried in solemn procession, accompanied by the singing of the martyr-hymn: "Isti sunt sancti", to the Bethlehem chapel, where with the assistance of Huss they were buried.

There followed another bull of excommunication against Huss. This time by the Pope himself. This added to the excitement. The king even advised Huss to leave Prague for some time until the people became more quiet. Huss obeyed, and, in December 1412, he retired to the country, after having published a paper in which he appealed from the unjust bull of excommunication to Christ, the righteous judge. In the country he preached to large audiences and the excitement grew. During his absence from Prague he wrote his work: *About the Church*, in which he asserts that the

Church is the communion of all who are predestined to salvation, and that Christ and not the Pope is the head of the universal Church.

In the meantime the Council of Constance had convened, and the Emperor Sigismund wished that the case of Huss should be decided there. Upon the promise of safe-conduct from the Emperor, Huss undertook the journey and arrived at Constance, November 3, 1414. Toward the end of the month he was arrested under some pretext, and Sigismund, soon arriving in the city, allowed tacitly, though not without displeasure, everything to take its course. Huss was kept in various prisons, some of them so dark and dingy that his health suffered severely. Several months he was kept confined in a castle outside of the city, separated from his friends, shackled during the day-time and during the night-time with his hands chained to the wall by the side of his bed.

At last, June 5, 1415, he was summoned to a hearing before the Council, which had assembled in the large hall of the Franciscan cloister. His books were laid before him and he acknowledged them as his. He would willingly, said he, correct any thing in them that could be proved to be false. A few extracts were then read. When he attempted to defend himself, he was silenced with boiterous outcries from several directions. When quiet was restored Huss said: "I had expected to find in this assembly more dignity, piety, and decorum." All felt the force of the rebuke and the trial was postponed.

Two days later the second examination took place in the presence of the Emperor. Being questioned as to his position toward Wycliffe, Huss answered that he held Wycliffe to be a good man and that he hoped some day to be where Wycliffe now was, but he disapproved of his attack on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. When he was admonished in everything to yield his views to those of the Council, he answered meekly that he would willingly do so, if they would show him wherein he had erred.

At the third and last examination, held the following day, the principal inquiry was as to his views about the Church, and he was subjected to many entangling questions, but without result. He now began to see that he could not escape death at the stake, and his letters from this time to his friends at home are full of parting thoughts and childlike submission to the will of God.

During the four weeks that were left every effort was made to induce him to recant, but in vain. It is indicative of the greatness of Huss that he did not allow the views of a great Church Council to influence him, while at the same time he remained meek and

lowly and cherished a spirit of forgiveness to all his enemies. He would rather be burned as a despised heretic than do violence to his conscience.

July 6, 1415, his case was decided in the presence of the Emperor and the whole Council assembled in the cathedral. As an incorrigible heretic he should be deposed from the ministry, be turned over to the secular authorities for punishment, and his books should be burned. Huss protested against the verdict, fell on his knees, prayed in silence for himself, then aloud for all his enemies.

He was then arrayed in full priestly attire, and afterwards solemny disrobed, piece by piece, while the anathema was pronounced over him. Finally the words were uttered: "We deliver thy soul to the devil." "But I", said Hus, "deliver it to my Lord Jesus Christ." A paper cap two feet high was then placed upon his head, decorated with pictures of evil spirits and bearing the inscription *Hæresiarcha* (heretic chieftain).

Now remained only the execution of the verdict by the secular authorities. Across the campus of the cathedral where his books were being burned — an act causing a smile to pass over his lips — he was taken to the place of execution, a field outside of the city. A great concourse of people and 800 armed men followed him on his last journey. When he arrived at the place he was disrobed, his hands tied behind his back, he was chained to a pole fastened securely in the ground. Wood and straw were then piled around him, reaching up to his breast. Even at the last minute he was asked if he would recant, to which he answered: "In the gospel truth I will die." Then the pile was sèt afire, and Huss began to sing with a loud voice: "O Christ, thou son of the living God, have mercy upon me." The next moment he was suffocated by the rising flames. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine.

Huss was no original, creative genius. As a thinker and writer he was inferior to Wycliffe. What characterized him was steadfastness of purpose, purity of life, unselfishness, and true piety. By his undaunted courage, his enduring patience, his faithful confession of the gospel has won for him the admiration of posterity, while his tragic death was followed by important results.

c) In the city of Florence in Italy there labored in the fifteenth century a reformer named *Savonarola*, a Dominican monk of fiery eloquence. His testimony was sustained by a truly evangelical spirit and he gave

evidence of prophetic inspiration. In his zeal to improve the morals he entered the path of political revolution. His adherents expelled the Medici who had usurped the government of the city, and restored the republic. Savonarola wished to establish a theocratic state of the Old Testament type and himself assumed the leadership in the manner of the judges of Israel. By these measures he made many enemies, and when the Pope excommunicated him and laid the city under the interdict the favor of the people failed him. He was sentenced to death, and with a firm faith in his Saviour he died at the stake in the year 1498.

d) In the Netherlands there had arisen during the fourteenth century an association known as the "*Brethren of the Common Life.*" They aimed at piety, learned studies, especially the study of the classics, and also the instruction of the young. The association had many members who may be reckoned among the forerunners of the Reformation. The gifted and learned *John Wessel* distinguished himself by such a Christian insight and evangelical purity in his doctrines that Luther said of him: "Had I read Wessel earlier my adversaries might have believed that I had taken everything from him, so well do we agree."

59. **Humanism.** In the fourteenth century there began a revival of the study of the ancient classics. This movement received a great impetus from the fall of Constantinople under the Ottoman Turks in 1453. A number of learned Greeks now sought refuge in Italy, and here large crowds of eager students gathered about them. From this land of ancient culture this movement, known as Humanism, soon extended into the neighboring lands to the north and west.

Humanism was of great importance to human de-

velopment by *whetting the intellect, ennobling the taste, and opening the eye for the purely human.* Toward Christianity the Italian humanists assumed an indifferent and even an hostile attitude. In Germany conditions were different. The German humanists had received a wholesome influence from the *Brethren of the Common Life* and showed more religious earnestness. The most renowned among them were *Reuchlin*, who opened the door to the original text of the Old Testament by his studies in the Hebrew language, and *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, who published an excellent edition of the Greek Testament.

The Humanists *prepared the way for the Reformation by furthering learned investigation and making possible a more thorough study of the bible in the original.* Furthermore they *mercilessly exposed many of the worst faults of the Mediæval Church*, especially the fruitlessness of scholasticism and the corruption of convent life. They were, however, too much interested in the humanities and too little in religion to effect any regeneration of the Church. For this there was needed a strong personality, one who knew nothing higher than "Jesus Christ and him crucified".

60. **A Retrospect of the Middle Ages.** When the Church changed its base from the Græco-Roman to the Teutonic and Slavonic nations, she took possession of a more promising yet more difficult field of labor. The tribes among whom her work lay were still in a state of nature, but possessed of the richest endowments. The duty of the Church was to educate them to an appreciation and enjoyment of the blessings both of spiritual and material culture. The means lay on the one hand in Christianity, on the other in the elements of culture which had been handed down from the Græco-Roman age. It is in reality the Roman Church and the Teutonic people that during this period show a decided development and lay a foundation for a new and distinct culture. But this was effected only by a slow and gradual process with many progressive and retrogressive movements.

The Church sought to train the newly acquired nations principally by outward discipline. This may be said to have been necessary, for these peoples needed to go through a period of development corresponding to that of the Old Testament in its effect upon humanity in general. But it may also be said to have shown the weakness of the Church. Out of the aim the Church had in view there grew three remarkable forces which represent both the weakness and the strength of the Church. There was needed a strong Central Power which could sustain the respect of the Church as an educational force, hence the Papacy. Again the Legalism, which

INSIGNIA OF THE PAPAL SEE (TIARA, STOLA, AND MISSAL),

began to manifest itslef in the early Church, now reached its full development. This tendency culminated in Monasticism. And finally the Ecclesiastical Authority in religious matters was completely systematized and applied by Scholasticism. These three forces were on the increase during the first half of the Middle Ages and reached their culmination in the thirteenth century. Then followed decline and dissolution.

The Middle Ages served as a transition period between ancient and modern culture, between the *early* and the *reformed* Church. Like all transition periods it presents the scene of a struggle between contrasts. The struggle became the more intense as the

Teutonic race was one of unusual force. The creations of the Middle Ages are of *gigantic proportions*. The ignorance, the uncurbed lawlessness, the gross licentiousness, as well as the profoundest learning, the most unselfish abnegation, and the deepest piety are all characteristic of the age. By a series of reforms the Church sought to improve her condition, but as these were principally of an outward nature they left her real faults — *hierarchical love of power, outward show, and spiritual bondage* — untouched. From the deep piety of more profound souls there grew gradually a clearer insight into the real spirit of Christianity. The freer spirit fostered by scientific study aided in loosening the fetters that had kept the religious spirit in bondage. Add to all this a growing dissatisfaction with the degenerated Church, and all the conditions prevail for hastening the time for a thorough-going Reformation.

The Bible prior to the Reformation: 1516 E
ademus Rutg N.T.; 1518 Hebrew O.T. a no of editi
ublished Bombay in Venice; 1502-17 the Span
ardinal Ximenes the 1st Polyglot Bible six
olios volumes; between 1456 & 1518 no less tha
4 editions of Bible in German x 3 or 4 in Dutc
Besides 9 editions of the Vulgate; 1st comp
lete Bible printed in 1462; all the 1st Bible
editions are apparently copies of a single
manuscript version (probably of Waldensia
origin), & copies have been preserved. The
had been translated from the Vulgate follow
closely, word for word, in Latin-Gothic

THE MODERN ERA.

A. THE REFORMATION.

a. The Reformation in Germany.

61. Introduction. In few events in history has the hand of Providence been as clearly seen as in the Reformation. The time was ripe for it, and circumstances and conditions contributed in a remarkable manner toward this stupendous movement which effected so great a revolution in the Church, and, in its results, also in the political world. A growing discontent with the papal government, a lively perception of the corruptions of the Church, and a deep and universal yearning after reformation prevailed everywhere. Literature and science furnished the means for a deeper knowledge of the Scriptures, and the invention of printing made possible a rapid dissemination of the Bible and the writings of the Reformers. A freer spirit began to breathe, especially in the cities. The disintegration of Germany into a large number of small states was also important, for social changes are more easily worked out in smaller than in larger states. Add to this a Pope as careless and indifferent as Leo X.; a trafficker in indulgences as presumptuous and shameless as Tetzel; a prince as pious and upright, as distinguished and respected as Frederick the Wise; an Emperor like Charles V., powerful and hostile enough to exert a purifying influence upon the Reformation, but too much involved in political complications to suppress it; various relations and conflicting circumstances tending to further the cause of the Reformation; a number of great and able men who gladly offered their services to the prosecution of the work; and finally at the right hour, in the fittest place, and with the most suitable surroundings, a man like Luther, especially endowed and trained for the great work, a man who, after having in his own inner experience passed through the

essential features of the Reformation, was prepared to direct the new movement, shed light upon the intellectual ferment of the times, and point out the way and the goal for the restless aspirations of his day. The Reformation is, therefore, not the work of a few restless adventurers and fanatics, but the outcome of centuries of development, the product of many an anguished heart's yearning for salvation, and especially of the man who above all others was to gladden the world by restoring from oblivion the saving truth: "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

62. **Luther's training for the Reformation.** Martin Luther was born at Eisleben on the 10th of November, 1483. He grew up in poverty and under severe discipline. Having completed his preparatory studies, he was enrolled as a student at the age of 18 in the University of Erfurt, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1505. In the university library he found for the first time a complete copy of the Bible (in Latin), which he studied most diligently. He was soon aroused to a most earnest anxiety for his soul's salvation, and in his distress he took refuge as a monk in an Augustinian convent at Erfurt. But vain were his efforts to find peace with God through monastic asceticism. Day by day he was weighed down more and more by his sense of guilt. He was at last counseled by more experienced friends *to believe* the forgiveness of even *actual* sins. In this way of faith he was further led by the continued reading of the Bible and the works of pious church fathers and teachers. And yet it was some time before he attained a clear light and full conviction in regard to this important matter.

In 1508 Luther was called as Professor of Philosophy to the University of Wittenberg, which had recently been established. Shortly afterwards (1510 or 1511) he was sent to Rome on some business in the interest of

his order. This journey was of the greatest importance to him, as he now had a chance to see with his own eyes

MARTIN LUTHER.

the deep religious and moral corruption which prevailed even in the very capital of Christendom. And though this experience did not lessen his respect for the Church,

it made him realize more fully than before the great need of a thorough reformation.

After his return to Wittenberg, Luther was made a Doctor of Divinity, and was authorized to lecture on the Holy Scriptures. His preferences were the Psalms, the Romans, and the Galatians. He had himself found the way of salvation through faith, and, hence, could from his own experience testify to his hearers that *man is justified by faith and not by the works of the Law.* All his subsequent work for the reformation of the Church was permeated and supported by this great truth, which has been called the *Material Principle of the Reformation.*

Martin Luther was the oldest of a large family. His parents were industrious and pious people, but with small means. They sought to bring up their children in the fear of God and strict morality. While Luther was still young, they moved from Eisleben to Mansfeld. Here their circumstances were gradually improved, and on account of his character and ability, his father, the miner Hans Luther, was elected a member of the town council.

Here while yet a mere child, Luther was sent to the city school, which was conducted in the mediæval style. The boy had already in his home become accustomed to strict discipline, but his treatment at school was barbarous in the extreme. He was for instance whipped fifteen times in one day without knowing really why. The school room was small and poorly ventilated, and the instruction of a very inferior sort. The progress was, therefore, very slow indeed. Luther, however, learned to read and write, committed to memory the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and began the study of the Latin grammar. At the age of 14, he was sent to another school, at Magdeburg. This school was conducted by men who had grown up under the guidance of the Brethren of the Common Life. Here the discipline was humane and the instruction good. Nevertheless, in the course of a year, we find Luther at Eisenach, where there was another good school. At both places the talented boy made rapid progress and raised great expectations.

At Eisenach as also at Magdeburg, Luther, like other poor school boys, had to earn his bread by singing at the doors of the wealthier citizens. In this way he sang at the door of a rich

burgher named Cotta, whose wife, Ursula Cotta, interested herself in the boy on account of his modest ways and sweet voice, and took him into her home. He could now spend the rest of his school-days without care for his daily bread. At her home, too, he acquired greater social refinement and had opportunities for developing his fine musical talents. All of which proved most valuable to him in his subsequent work.

At Erfurt he devoted himself to the study of the classics and philosophy. The latter introduced him to the subtleties of scholasticism. Subsequently he learned to know how worthless this philosophy was; he was glad, however, that he had "by his own personal experience learned to know the wisdom of the universities so that his opponents could not accuse him of condemning what he did not know."

As has already been said, Luther was brought up in the fear of God from his earliest childhood. He had especially learned to be diligent in prayer, and held that "to pray well is half the study."

His devotion, however, did not afford him peace of conscience. "We were all", says he, "admonished to make satisfaction for our sins, for Christ would on the last day demand how we had atoned for our guilt, and how many good works we had done." His severe training had made him very conscientious, and he often held as a great sin that which was perfectly innocent; and, hence, he lived in continual anxiety. His diligent Scripture-reading afforded him no true light, for as yet there hung before his eyes the thick veil of human traditions and notions which he had imbibed during his childhood and youth. His distress was increased by several fear-inspiring events. Thus while on a journey he was once overtaken by a fearful thunderstorm, and the lightning struck close to him. In his terror he invoked the help of the saints and made a solemn vow that, if he escaped death, he would enter a monastery and become a monk. This vow he fulfilled shortly afterwards when he entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt.

During his novitiate, Luther was assigned the most menial duties, such as sweeping the yard, going barefoot through the town, with a bag on his back, begging for his convent, etc. These duties he performed in the spirit of meekness and in the most faithful manner. Through the mediation of the university, he was, however, soon relieved of these menial services, and permitted to devote himself to his studies. The Bible was his dearest reading, but he

also mastered the works of the mystics and the schoolmen as well as of St. Augustine. The latter exerted a great influence upon his religious development. He was ever engaged in studies, prayer, fastings, vigils, etc. Referring to this period of his life, he writes later, "If ever a monk could obtain heaven through monkery, I should certainly have been entitled to it, for all who then knew me can testify that had it continued much longer, I should have tormented myself to death with watching, prayers, reading, and other labors."

And yet his conscience found no peace. He realized in his own heart that no matter what he did, it was not sufficient to satisfy God's law. His superior, John Staupitz, the Vicar-General of the Augustinian order in Saxony, referred him, in his distress, to Christ, who "is an actual Saviour" and has "forgiveness for actual sins." An old brother monk also tried to comfort him with the words of the third Article of the Creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins", and expounded their meaning thus, "It is not enough to believe in a general way that men like Peter and Paul have the forgiveness of sins, for even the devils believe that; but it is God's will that each one should believe that just his own sins are forgiven him." By such words of comfort, Luther was led by way of faith to the forgiveness of sins and justification. After much distress and many conflicts, light began to shine into his troubled heart.

In 1507 Luther was ordained a priest. With great trepidation he said his first mass. He came near running away from the altar when he, according to the ritual, was to pronounce the words, "I bring Thee, living and eternal God, this sacrifice." He was seized by the utmost terror when he felt that he stood without a mediator in the presence of the Majesty of Heaven, and was to address immediately the just and holy God.

The commission to make a journey to Rome Luther received with gladness. When he arrived within sight of the city, he fell upon the earth and exclaimed, "Hail to thee, holy Rome!" During his (4 days) stay in Rome, he visited all the holy places, and ascended on his knees the sacred stairs, which were said to have been brought from Pilate's judgment hall in Jerusalem to Rome. As yet he was not freed from the idea that such acts were meritorious before God. Nay, as he himself says, it grieved him that his parents were not already dead, as he might by some special act of devotion have released them from purgatory.

In the mean time, however, he saw and heard many things in Rome, which grieved his sensitive soul. The most sacred things were openly turned into jests, and even the clergy were guilty of godless frivolities. Thus he learned from personal experience the degradation into which the capital of Christendom had fallen. He regarded his visit to Rome as a special dispensation of Providence, and would not have missed making it for a hundred thousand florins, for he might otherwise have felt some apprehension that he had been unjust to the Pope; but now he could testify of what he had seen and heard.

It was with reluctance and in obedience to his superiors that Luther consented to take the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His colleague Carlstadt placed the doctor's hat on his head. Upon receiving this new dignity, he was required to take an oath to study and teach the Word of God faithfully. In his subsequent work, he derived much comfort from this oath; when he saw all the commotion that his preaching had occasioned in Christendom, he felt that he had not of his own accord gone forth, but that he had been called and constrained to do it.

From this time forth Luther's lectures and sermons were pervaded by his newly acquired experience of justification by faith. There breathed through them all a freshness, which cleared the atmosphere from the close and oppressive vapors of scholastic quibbling. His audiences became in consequence more and more numerous, and he was already regarded as the chief ornament of the university to which he belonged.

63. **Luther's first step as a Reformer.** There appeared as a trafficker in indulgences in northern Germany a Dominican monk, named John Tetzel, who in a more shameless manner than any one before him, persuaded people that indulgence granted unconditional forgiveness of all sins. As a pastor with the care of souls upon his conscience, Luther felt constrained to oppose this evil, and, after having tried in vain to induce the church authorities to check the same, he nailed up, on the 31st of October 1517, on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg, 95 theses against the abuse of indulgences. The key-note of the theses was the conten-

tion that indulgences are not efficacious where there is no contrition of heart. The theses soon spread over all the Catholic world, and everywhere aroused a great sensation. Even the Pope, Leo X., finally felt it his duty to investigate Luther's case. Through a skillful agent, he succeeded in inducing Luther, who was in no-wise inclined to break with the Church, to promise silence provided his opponents would leave him in peace.

Luther, however, was soon compelled to break the silence, as a professor from Ingolstadt, John Eck, challenged him to a public disputation, which was held at Leipzig in 1519. At this disputation it became clear to Luther that Popes and Church Councils may err, and that the Bible is the only infallible rule in all spiritual matters. This principle of the sole and absolute authority of the Scriptures has been called the *Formal Principle of the Reformation.*

After this disputation, Eck went to Rome and secured a papal bull excommunicating Luther. But Luther now took a bold step. On a blazing pile, outside the Elster gate of Wittenberg, he publicly burned the papal bull and a copy of the canon law (December 10, 1520). By this act Luther forever shut the way of his return to the Catholic Church. Shortly afterwards (January 1521) he was placed under the unconditional ban of the Church.

In his sermon on indulgences Tetzel is said to have asserted that the red cross of the indulgences with the papal arms was as efficacious as the cross of Christ; he (Tetzel) would not exchange places with St. Peter, for he had by his indulgences saved more souls than Peter by his preaching; when any one put money in the chest for a soul in purgatory, that soul would ascend to heaven as soon as the money clinked in the bottom of the chest; it was not necessary to repent or to do penance if one bought a letter of indulgence; these indulgences would cover sins not yet committed; etc. Many

believed these falsehoods, and money flowed in abundantly. A part of this money went to the archbishop of Mainz, and with it he paid his pallium, said to have cost 26,000 gulden; another part was to be used for the completion of St. Peter's Church in Rome.

The Elector of Saxony would not allow Tetzel to enter his territory. But the latter sought to bless even the Saxons with his wares, and opened up his trade in the border town of Jüterbogh, not far from Wittenberg. Many Wittenbergers went to him for indulgences. Some of them belonged to Luther's flock. When they were admonished by Luther in the confessional to repent, they produced their letters of indulgence and claimed that these secured them forgiveness without contrition. But Luther replied with the words of Scripture, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." The deluded people were offended and complained to Tetzel that his indulgences were not considered efficacious. Tetzel, who was also a papal inquisitor, became furious, and built fires in the market place to show how he intended to deal with the enemies of indulgence.

Luther, however, was not intimidated, but preached and wrote boldly against this traffic. He also turned to several of the dignitaries of the Church, and sought to induce them to put a stop to this evil. When these efforts failed, he composed his 95 theses and posted them without consulting any one about it. By this means he wished to bring about a disputation which should make plain the true meaning and force of indulgences; it was in nowise his intention to condemn unconditionally the indulgence, or to oppose the Catholic Church. He rather regarded himself as a defender of the Church against those who for selfish gain abused her ordinances and made her odious to the people. Some of the more important theses may serve to illustrate his thoughts and intentions.

Thesis 1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying: "Repent ye", etc., intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence. 2. This word cannot be understood of sacramental penance, that is, of the confession and satisfaction which are performed under the ministry of priests. 5. The Pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties, except those which he has imposed by his own authority, or by that of the canons. 6. The Pope has no power to remit any guilt, except by declaring and warranting it to have been remitted by God; or at most by remitting cases reserved for himself; in which cases, if his power were despised, guilt would certainly remain. 32. Those who believe that, through letters of

pardon, they are made sure of their own salvation, will be eternally damned along with their teachers. 34. The grace conveyed by these pardons has respect only to the penalties of sacramental satisfaction, which are of human appointment. 37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a share in all the benefits of Christ and of the Church, through the grace of God, even without letters of pardon. 50. Christians should be taught that, if the Pope were acquainted with the exactions of the preachers of pardons, he would rather that St. Peter's Church were burnt to ashes, than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep. 62. The true treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God. 71. He who speaks against the truth of apostolic pardons, let him be anathema and accursed. 72. But he, on the other hand, who exerts himself against the wontonness and license of speech of the preachers of pardons, let him be blessed. 94. Christians should be exhorted to strive to follow Christ, their head, through pains, deaths, and hells. 95. And thus rather enter the kingdom of God through many tribulations, than by the consolation of a false peace fall into carnal security.

By means of the printing-press these theses spread over Germany in a fortnight and practically over all the Catholic world in six weeks. Everywhere they attracted the greatest attention. Some were charmed and others embittered by them. It was the first whispering of the spirit which was soon to pass through the Church and shake it in its decayed seams and joints. Luther had given expression to a part of what thousands of anxious hearts had felt. But much more must be said. Having once made himself the mouth-piece of his times, he could not keep silent until he had given full expression to the unsatisfied wants which during centuries had oppressed pious and sincere hearts.

On the papal chair sat Leo X., of the powerful Medici family, a cultured man of the world, deeply interested in art and science, but without heart or feeling for the Church. From his childhood he had been destined for holy orders that he might without trouble obtain wealth, power, and honor. At the age of seven he was ordained a priest, the following year he was made an archbishop, and before he had reached his thirteenth year he was created cardinal. This was not the man to comprehend what was now at issue. He did, indeed, take knowledge of the 95 theses, but regarded the controversy arising from them as an ordinary monkish squabble. In the meantime, however, he was induced by his counselors to

summon Luther to Rome to answer for his theses. But through the mediation of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, the summons was modified, and Luther was to meet the papal legate, cardinal Cajetan, at Augsburg. The legate at first received the humble monk with friendly condescension, and simply demanded that he should recant. But when Luther appealed to the Scriptures and produced unanswerable arguments for his statements, the cardinal lost his temper and cried: "Depart, and do not come into my presence again, unless you are willing to recant." Luther obeyed the order, and secretly left Augsburg, as he could no longer feel secure there.

In Rome it was felt that the legate had but poorly accomplished his mission. As it was of importance to the Pope to maintain friendly relations with Frederick the Wise, a new agent was sent out, the accomplished papal chamberlain Carl von Miltitz. He administered so sharp a rebuke to Tetzel for his shameless proceedings that the unhappy offender from shame and terror sought refuge in a convent, where he shortly afterwards died. On the other hand he received Luther, whom he had summoned to meet him at Altenberg, in January 1519, with extreme kindness, praised his learning and genius, and declared that he would not dare with a force of 5,000 armed men to attempt to carry him to Rome, for he had found everywhere on his journey that where one spoke for the Pope three spoke for Luther. Such flattery, it is true, made no impression on a man of Luther's disposition, still the latter promised to remain silent, if his opponents would leave him in peace.

His opponents, however, took care that the Reformation should not be stifled to death by silence. Professor John Eck of Ingolstadt, a man of talent, but of puerile vanity, sought to make himself a name as an unrivaled debater, and for this purpose had held public disputations at several universities. He now decided to challenge the Wittenberg professors. In the first place he directed his challenge to Luther's colleague Carlstadt, but aimed in reality at a contest with Luther, who also took up the gauntlet thus thrown down.

The disputation in Leipzig lasted three weeks. During the first week Eck and Carlstadt disputed about grace and free-will, Eck defending the Semi-Pelagian and Carlstadt the Augustinian doctrine. Then Luther entered the contest. Regarding free-will he sided with Carlstadt. The disputation extended also to the primacy of the Pope, purgatory, repentance, and indulgences. Luther

appealed to the Scriptures, and Eck to tradition. On any common premises the two contestants could not agree, and, hence, they arrived at no definite results. But here the defenders of the old system, and the champions of the Reformation had a chance to learn to know each other better. Eck discovered that Luther's views coincided with those held by the Bohemian martyr John Huss. And though it had never before occurred to Luther that the Church had erred in its action concerning Huss, he now hazzarded the assertion that not all the Hussite doctrines were heretical. He also accused Eck of "shunning the Bible as the devil does the Cross." From this time forth he became firmly convinced that in all religious questions one must rest upon the Bible alone.

Not only theologians and students, but also a large number of laymen and even princes had attended the disputation at Leipzig and carefully followed the proceedings. As a result some had become all the more firmly rooted in their Catholic faith. To this number belonged Duke George of Saxony, who henceforth became Luther's avowed enemy. Others again had their hearts more fully opened to the truth, and it was particularly here that the intimate friendship was formed between Luther and Melanchthon, which united them for life.

Luther continued his labors, in speech and writing, along the lines already mapped out. Of especial importance were three writings, all published in 1520. The first bore the title, "To his Imperial Majesty and the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Improvement of the Christian Condition." In a powerful and eloquent manner he shows how the Pope had tyrannized over all Christendom and especially over Germany by his un-Christian rules and laws and his unscrupulous exactions. He bombards the three paper walls behind which the Pope had hitherto entrenched himself, namely the claims that the spiritual is superior to the civil power, that the Pope alone has the right to interpret Scripture, and to summon Ecumenical Councils. He further points out the outward means of throwing off the papal yoke, and seeks to interest even the secular princes in the Reformation of the Church. In his second work, "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church", he exposes the errors of the Romish doctrines of the Sacraments. And as nearly all the false doctrines and practices of the papal Church were connected with this question, he had occasion to present a complete criticism of the whole Roman system of doctrines. Both of these works expressed what thousands of hearts thought and felt,

and, hence, they spread rapidly, and were everywhere hailed with acclamations of joy. To the papal party they were like salt in a fresh wound and called forth from them a cry of pain and much abuse.

But Luther spoke not only words of warfare, but also of peace. The latter he did in his third work, "On the Freedom of a Christian." This is a work of edification and instruction, glowing with ardor and fervency, and written in a truly evangelical spirit and power.

In the meantime Dr. Eck was laboring to silence his troublesome opponent by the arm of force. The result of his efforts was the papal bull of excommunication. Armed with this, he hastened into Germany. He did not, however, meet with the reception that he had expected and desired. In various places the bishops dared not publish the bull for fear of the people. In Leipzig and Erfurt the students prevented it. It was evident that the need of a Reformation was universally felt, and the man who had so clearly seen and fearlessly exposed the corruptions of the Church was everywhere regarded with admiration and love. And Luther's bold deed in burning the papal bull was preceded and followed by similar acts in various places. But the hatred of the papal party also increased, and the many piles on which Luther's works were burned showed plainly what fate was contemplated for the bold author himself.

64. **Melanchthon.** Among Luther's many friends and fellow-workers no one was of greater importance to the Reformation than Melanchthon. He had early acquired a thorough humanistic education, and at the age of 21 (1518) was appointed Professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg. He soon attached himself with the warmest devotion to Luther, who in turn regarded his new friend as an invaluable ally. For learning Melanchthon was no doubt the greatest genius of his day, and his systematic comprehension and presentation of the new doctrine gave it from the beginning a high degree of clearness and solidity. As early as 1521, he published the first work on Lutheran Dogmatics

1. Biographies: by [illegible]

(Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum). But timid and unpractical, he needed the support of Luther's powerful spirit, and only in union with the great Reformer did he himself become the great master which he has ever been in the Lutheran Church. He died in 1560.

Philip Melanchthon was the son of a wealthy armorer named George Schwarzerd, and was born February 16, 1497, in a little Palatine town which now belongs to Baden. He received an earnest, religious training in the home, and manifested in his earlest years remarkable talents for study. As a child he was somewhat afflicted with stammering, but by persistent efforts he succeeded in overcoming this natural defect, so that in later life it was hardly perceptible.

Upon the father's death, in 1507, young Philip was sent to a Latin school, where he made remarkable progress, especially in the classics. Here he met his kinsman, the celebrated John Reuchlin, who received the boy with hearty good-will, and in every way assisted him in his studies. He also induced him, according to the custom of his times, to translate his name, Schwarzerd, into the Greek Melanchthon. He then studied some years in the Universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen, and at the last named place secured for himself at the early age of 17 the Master's degree. He then began the study of theology. Scholastic philosophy had but little charm for him, but he studied with great eagerness the works of the church fathers and the New Testament in the original text; and was even at this time persuaded in his own mind that Bible Christianity was something different from the scholastic theology of the Church.

On the recommendation of Reuchlin, he was appointed Professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg, in 1518. Devoted to Humanism he believed at first — like Erasmus of Rotterdam — that the Church could be reformed through the means of the New Learning, which was now flourishing everywhere. He lectured with great success on Homer and also on the Greek text of the New Testament. His hearers often numbered two thousand. But through Luther, with whom he soon entered upon terms of intimate friendship, he was led to a deeper knowledge of the Scriptures, and soon realized that learning alone could not awaken new life in the

Church. After the disputation of Leipzig, which he attended, he espoused the cause of the Reformation as a champion of the first rank. He devoted himself more and more to theology, and in 1526

PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

assumed the duties of a professor's chair in this branch of learning. He had already begun to assist Luther in his work of translating the Bible, and had published commentaries on various books of the

Bible, especially those of the New Testament. By his "Loci Communes" he had already laid the foundation for Lutheran Dogmatics.

Together with other prominent men he took an active part in the visitations instituted by Luther in the Electorate of Saxony, and was appointed to prepare plans for a new church and school organization for the Electorate. The work was so well done that this organization served as a model for other Lutheran states.

Melanchthon accompanied his Elector to the Diet of Spires, in 1529, and was also present at the Religious Conference held the same year at Marburg, though he went there reluctantly as he felt that nothing could come from it. During the debate he said but little; he was, however, no more inclined to fraternize with the Swiss than was Luther himself. He especially deprecated their mixing of the Reformation with politics, and Zwingli's efforts to unite religion and philosophy.

To Melanchthon fell the principal part of the work of preparing the Confession, which was to be presented to the Emperor and the Estates at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1530. This task he performed with great care, in constant correspondence with Luther, who, being excommunicated and outlawed, could not be present at Augsburg. He was very particular with the wording of the confession, and carefully weighed each word, and furthermore submitted each article to a careful examination by the Lutheran theologians present at the Diet. His clear, simple, and definite confession, combining a calm, peaceful tone with a firm evangelical position, reflects enduring credit upon its author. By this writing and the one published in its defence in 1531, Melanchthon reached the zenith of his fame. He had long been called the "Teacher of Germany" (Præceptor Germaniæ) and now he had merited the title in a still higher degree.

Though he was offered honorable positions as professor at other universities, he remained faithfully at Wittenberg. His intimate friendship with Luther still continued. The one possessed in a rich measure the qualities of mind and heart in which the other was deficient, they, therefore, needed each other, lest each by himself should become narrow and one-sided. Their various gifts have been happily described by Luther in these words, "I am rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike. I am born to fight against innumerable monsters and devils. I must remove stumps and stones, cut away thistles and thorns, and clear the wild

forests; but Master Philippus comes along softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy, according to the gifts which God has abundantly bestowed upon him."

Later in life, however, the relation between the two great men became less cordial, although they never came to an open rupture, but ever held each other in the highest esteem. The causes of the incipient coldness between them were various, partly of a private nature, but particularly their different views regarding the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Luther felt that Melanchthon was not positive enough, and that he was too ready to compromise with the Reformed views.

Luther's death (1546) was a severe blow to Melanchthon. He missed the friend and counselor to whom he had ever turned in difficult emergencies. He felt too the great loss which the Evangelical Church had sustained in the death of its chief leader. Then too there came the Schmalcaldic War, which drove him into exile. And later, when the University was resumed, he regarded it his duty to return to Wittenberg, and serve the new Elector Maurice, though this was criticised by many who had removed to Jena, where John Frederick and his sons had founded a new university.

A time of trouble and suffering now began for Melanchthon. He was involved in a number of doctrinal controversies and other difficulties for which he had neither taste nor talent, and which he would gladly have escaped. But circumstances forced him to the front as the champion of Evangelical doctrines. His sensitive mind was embittered by the fierce and passionate attacks directed against him by the partisans of rigid Lutheranism. The latter accused him and his disciples of heresy and apostasy from Lutheran doctrines. With great patience and self-control he endured this *rabies theologorum* (fury of the theologians), from which he dared to hope for escape only in death. On the other hand it must be admitted that his attitude was often vacillating, and that he, at times, was too yielding both to the Catholics and the Reformed. In this way he often, though unintentionally, gave occasion to these unfortunate contentions, which caused exultation among the enemies of the Evangelical Church, and in which many a noble faculty was wasted which could have been employed in a better cause.

Melanchthon would never accept ordination and never preached in any church, but during the last ten or twelve years of his life, he expounded the lesson-text for the day on Sundays and other holy days in his lecture-room, and these devotional services were

always well attended, especially by the students. He was married in 1520, and had a full share of both the joys and the sorrows of domestic life. His health was always delicate, and several times he was sick nigh unto death. On a journey to Leipzig, in March 1560, he contracted a severe cold, and died in April the same year, quietly and peacefully, in full reliance upon the Lord whom he had always with heart and mouth praised and adored. His body was laid to rest beside Luther's in the Castle Church of Wittenberg.

65. **Luther at Worms and Wartburg.** In the beginning of 1521 an Imperial Diet was convened at Worms. To this Luther was summoned to defend his doctrine. In spite of the warnings of friends and the cunning efforts of enemies to prevent him, Luther appeared at the Diet under an imperial safe-conduct. When asked whether he would retract the contents of his books, he answered that he could not retract anything unless he were convinced by the Word of God or by clear arguments, as his conscience was bound in the Word of God, and then added these words, "Here I stand, I can not do otherwise. God help me. Amen."

This frank and fearless answer made a favorable impression on a large part of the assembly. Nevertheless the papal party triumphed, and when Luther's case was decided, a month later, he and all his adherents were placed under the ban of the Empire (May 1521).

Luther was permitted to leave Worms unmolested. But on his way home, he was suddenly attacked by a company of armed horsemen and carried off as a prisoner to the castle of the Wartburg. This is supposed to have happened through the contrivance of Luther's prince, the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, who in this way would rescue him from the first storm. Luther spent ten months at the Wartburg. It was a period of quiet, during which he could carefully study and consider the great work which he had begun. This forms a

turning-point in Luther's work: from this time forth he was as zealous in his efforts to build up the Church on the true evangelical foundation as he had before been in tearing down the false doctrines and institutions of Catholicism. The beginning of this constructive work was the translation of the Bible into his mother-tongue. He found time at the Wartburg to complete the translation of the New Testament, which was published in 1522. The Old Testament he translated afterwards with the assistance of several others, and the whole Bible was finally published in the German language in 1534. Thus was laid the best foundation for the regeneration of the Church.

The Catholic leaders were not satisfied with having Luther summoned before the Diet of Worms. They held that he as already under the papal ban was irrevocably condemned, and that he should, therefore, not be heard any further, but simply be burned. But Luther's prince, Frederick the Wise, and a few other German princes succeeded in inducing the Emperor to summon Luther to appear before the Diet, and to furnish him with a safe-conduct, that is a promise that he might come to the Diet and return to his home under the protection of the Emperor and the state. In spite of the fact that Luther was under the papal ban he is addressed in the opening of the imperial summons as "honorable, well-beloved, and pious."

On this imperial call, Luther boldly set out, not, indeed, unmindful of the dangers he incurred. He bade farewell to his friends as if it had been for the last time. In many cities along the way he was made the object of public honors. Some warned him against going to Worms and referred to the terrifying example of John Huss. To them he replied: "Though they kindle a fire from Wittenberg to Worms that blazes to heaven, yet when summoned I will go, and in God's name enter the jaws of Behemoth (Job 40: 10) between his great teeth, and confess Christ and let him reign." The Emperor's confessor sought to induce him to take refuge in a neighboring castle and from that retreat to conduct his case at Worms. But Luther did not permit himself to fall into the snare. On another occasion one of his friends sent to warn him against the

dangers that threatened him at the Diet. But Luther replied, "Though there be as many devils in Worms, as tiles on the roofs, yet will I enter." Even Luther himself afterwards wondered at his own boldness. Thus did the Lord strengthen his servant that he did not falter at this critical moment. It now behooved him to make a good confession before many witnesses, and who can estimate the great influence Luther's appearance at Worms had upon the further development of the Reformation?

On the 16th of April Luther entered Worms. On his way through the city he was surrounded by large crowds of people, all anxious to see this remarkable man who had dared to defy the Pope and all the world. The Catholic leaders now sought to prevent Luther's appearing before the Diet, and to persuade the Emperor that it was not necessary for him to keep his oath to a heretic. But to all such counsels the Emperor gave the worthy reply, "What one has promised one must keep."

Thus on the day after his arrival Luther was summoned to appear before this august assembly, composed of the Emperor, the Electors of the Empire, and large numbers of other spiritual and temporal lords and princes. Through gardens and alleys he was brought to the hall, for the streets were all overcrowded with masses of curious people. As he was about to enter the hall, the famous warrior George von Freundsberg tapped him on the shoulder and said, "My poor monk, thou hast a fight before thee to-day, such as neither I nor any of my comrades in arms have ever had in our hottest battles, but if thou art sure of the justice of thy cause, then go forward in the name of God, and be of good courage; God will not forsake thee." On a table in front of the Emperor lay copies of Luther's books. Two questions were put to him: "Did he acknowledge these books as his, and would he retract what he had written in them." The first of these questions he answered in the affirmative after the titles of the books had been read to him. Regarding the second question he asked for time for consideration that he might not act imprudently nor offend against the Word of God. This request was granted and the case was postponed until the next day.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the 18th of April, Luther was again brought before the Diet, but had to wait for a hearing until six o'clock. Calmly and modestly but with great firmness he now made his reply. He divided his books into three

classes. Some were written for Christian edification and them even his opponents had not condemned. In others he had attacked the false doctrines of the Papacy. These he could not retract, because by so doing he would endorse the papal tyranny and wickedness. And finally in the third class of his books he had written against individuals who had undertaken to defend that tyranny. Against these he admitted that he had been more vehement than was becoming, for he did not claim to be a saint. And yet even these writings he could not retract, for he would then appear to sanction this system of tyranny, and the unhappy people would be oppressed more unmercifully than ever. "But", he added, "as I am but a man and not God, I can defend my books only in the way that my Lord Jesus Christ did with his doctrine when he said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil'. I therefore beg by the grace of God that your Imperial Majesty and your Graces or whosoever can, be he of high or low degree, would bear such witness and convince me by the writings of the Evangelists and Prophets. And when I have been thus convinced I shall be perfectly willing and ready to retract all errors, and be the first one to throw my books into the fire."

This statement was first made by Luther in German, and then in spite of the oppressive heat he repeated it with equal force in Latin.* But his opponents were not satisfied. They demanded that he give a plain answer, "without horns", whether he would retract or not.

To this Luther replied, "Since your Imperial Majesty and your Graces demand a plain answer, I will give one that has neither horns nor teeth. Unless I be refuted by Scriptural testimonies, or by clear arguments (for I believe neither the Pope nor the councils alone, since it is clear that they have often erred and contradicted themselves) I am convinced by the passages of Scripture which I have cited, my conscience is bound in the Word of God, and I can not and I will not retract anything, since it is unsafe and dangerous to do anything against the conscience. Here I stand. I can not do otherwise. God help me. Amen."

Thus was the great Confession made, and evangelical truth had triumphed. Though Luther appeared to stand alone against a powerful party, yet was he strong, for God was with him. By the grace of God he had been freed from the bondage of human

* This order is reversed by many. See Köstlin, Jacobs, and others.

tradition and ordinances, and was bound only by the Word of God and his own conscience. For this freedom thousands were longing, and all were strengthened and encouraged in their seeking after truth by Luther's bold confession and unflinching firmness.

Subsequent efforts to induce Luther to recant proved unsuccessful. That his address before the Diet made a deep impression on many was shown by the numerous visits he received from princes, counts, lords, knights, and nobles, lay and clerical, and even from the common people. The papal party strained every nerve to induce the various Estates of the Empire to adopt resolutions hostile to Luther. As they feared that this could not be accomplished immediately, especially as the Estates themselves had presented a complaint of ~~over~~ 100 articles against papal usurpations, they bent their efforts towards postponing Luther's case. The matter was not decided before the 26th of May, when most of the members had left the Diet. Luther was then declared an outlaw; no one was to receive him or shelter him any longer, but wherever found he was to be seized and handed over to the Emperor. This imperial document was, however, dated the 8th of May, so that it might appear to have been passed while the members were all there.

Translations of the Bible had, indeed, been made before Luther's day, but they were all made from the Vulgate version, which was very faulty, and the German used in them was heavy and difficult to read so that they could not become a possession of the German people. Luther's translation on the other hand was made from the original text, and his language was vigorous and popular, and, hence, his Bible soon became a precious treasure to both high and low. Like all other human efforts it has of course its defects, but its merits are nevertheless so overbalancing that as yet it has been surpassed by none and equaled by few.

Luther's Bible is important not only from a religious, but from a literary and social point of view, for by it the High German language was stereotyped and became the literary language of Germany.

66. **Reformation and Fanaticism.** During Luther's sojourn at the Wartburg some of his followers in Wittenberg, especially his colleague Carlstadt, began to adopt violent measures for bringing about a more speedy reform in church matters. Restless spirits as they were,

they regarded Luther altogether too slow and cautious. While the latter labored to affect an inward conviction and hoped that after the people had been thus enlightened a gradual reform could be made in the external regulations of the Church to make them conform more nearly to the demands of biblical Christianity, Carlstadt and his adherents sought to bring about a speedy outward transformation of the Church and supposed that in this way the desired end could be accomplished. With a large following of excited people, they entered the churches and tore down images and altars. The Latin mass was abolished, the communion administered in both kinds, and the services as a whole were conducted in the mother-tongue. Though many of these changes were in themselves justifiable and were afterwards retained, yet their violent introduction caused great disturbance in many minds. This disturbance was heightened still more by the arrival of certain exiles from Zwickau, who claimed the gift of prophecy. They rejected infant baptism and required adults to be baptized even though they had been baptized as children. Hence, they were known as Anabaptists. They also depreciated the authority of the Scriptures, and claimed for every regenerate person the direct guidance and illumination of the Holy Spirit.

There was no one in Wittenberg capable of putting down this storm, which threatened to divert the reformation into dangerous by-paths. Luther now felt it his duty to come out from his hiding-place and appear upon the scene. He came accordingly to Wittenberg and for eight days in succession preached against these abuses. His powerful words quieted the disturbed minds, the Zwickau prophets withdrew, and order was restored.

But new disturbances soon arose in other places. The peasants of Germany, groaning under an oppressive servitude, caught at the words of Luther regarding Christian liberty, and believed that here they found justification for an uprising even against their worldly oppressors. The Zwickau prophets encouraged the movement, and in Suabia and Thuringia there was a general uprising of the peasants. In vain did Luther urge the parties to a peaceable settlement by mutual compromises. Neither party would listen to him, and the peasants rendered themselves guilty of the cruelest acts of violence. After many bloody battles the princes finally succeeded in reducing the wild masses (1525), and then wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the unhappy and deluded peasants.

A fine example of the courage and faith which filled Luther's heart whenever he felt that he was doing the Lord's work, is the letter which he wrote on the way to Wittenberg to inform his Elector that he had left Wartburg and to explain why against his Elector's wishes he had taken this step. Among other things he writes: "This I have written in order that your Electoral Grace may know that I come to Wittenberg under a far higher protectorate than the Elector's. I have no thought of so much as asking the protection of your Grace. Indeed, I think I am in a position to give more potection to your Grace than you can to me. If I knew that your Grace could and would protect me, I would not come. In this business no sword can counsel or help. God must help in this work alone, without human aid. In this case, therefore, he whose faith is strongest can best protect." And that Luther was thoroughly in earnest when he thus placed himself solely under God's protection is manifest from the advice which he gives the Elector further on in the letter, namely, that he should "hold the door open and give the enemy free way if they should come to take me."

It was not in vain that Luther trusted in the Lord, for he was endowed with a wonderful power. The main thought in his eight sermons against the fanatics at Wittenberg was that the essential fact in Christianity is faith in the Son of God, but that every Christian ought with love and patience to bear with the brethren if they

could not at once free themselves from the old forms and ordinances. By these abrupt changes one did violence to the consciences of the weak. Let the Word be preached, and let it do its work in the hearts of men, and the external changes will come of themselves.

By the suppression of the peasants' uprising the Anabaptists were for a time checked in their more public efforts, but they continued in a secret way to gain adherents partly in Switzerland and more especially in the Netherlands. They soon felt themselves strong enough to resume their efforts in Germany. As a field for their labors they selected the Westphalian city of Münster, which had lately accepted the Reformation. Here affairs were as yet in an unsettled state, and, hence, the Anabaptist preachers succeeded in causing great disturbance throughout the city. They also drew to the city a large part of the worthless elements of the surrounding country and with their help completely revolutionized the city government. The more conservative of the inhabitants were forced to move away. With the help of neighboring princes the bishop of Münster now raised an army and surrounded the city. But this only incited the Anabaptists to greater violence. They destroyed all images, and burned all books, except the Bible. Community of goods was introduced, and equality before the law was proclaimed. Common tables were set, and during meals the Bible was publicly read. But of the divine Word only such portions were appropriated as appealed to the senses and their unbridled passions. A perfect reign of terror was established, and all who dared oppose the new order were hurried without mercy to the block.

To begin with a certain baker, Matthias of Haarlem, led the movement, but after his death in an attack upon the besiegers, the 26 year-old John Bockhold, a tailor from Leyden, came forward as the leader. Before long a certain goldsmith declared to the multitude assembled in the market-place that God had revealed to him that John of Leyden should again set up the throne of David — a beginning to the millennium — and rule over the whole world. He was to exterminate all the ungodly and destroy all kings and princes, and the government was to be wholly in the hands of the believers. Immediately John fell upon his knees and declared that he had himself had the same revelation, but out of modesty had refrained from speaking about it. He was now crowned king and proceeded to surround himself with as much royal splendor as possible. Whenever he appeared in public he was followed by

attendants carrying a copy of the Bible, a sword, and a crown. Whosoever would then refuse to bow the knee before him was beheaded without mercy. Three times a week he would sit in judgment upon a throne erected in the market-place. His executioner Knipperdolling — remembered from the Anabaptist disturbances in Stockholm 1524 — stood at his side, ready to carry out his sentences, which were usually death penalties. Polygamy was introduced, John himself taking no less than seventeen wives. When one of them dared to doubt that this work was of God, he beheaded her with his own hand, and then in wild ecstasy danced together with the people around her dead body, while the hymn, "All glory be to God on high", was being sung. For the conversion of the world 28 apostles were sent out, and all the kingdoms of the earth were divided among 12 dukes.

With the courage of despair the deluded people had for a long time defended themselves against the besiegers. But by and by famine began to rage in the city and the exhausted defenders were unable to hold out any longer. Then the besiegers rushed across the walls, entered the city, and engaged in a horrible massacre. The king and Knipperdolling fell alive into the hands of their enemies who wreaked a terrible vengeance upon them. Their dead bodies were suspended in iron cages on one of the church steeples of the city as a warning to future generations. These events occurred during the years 1533—1535.

Münster fell into the hands of the Catholic Church, and as a result of this fanaticism Westphalia was lost to the Protestant cause.

67. The Influence of the Reformation upon the internal affairs of the Church. After having separated from itself these restless elements, the Reformation pursued a steady and vigorous development both inwardly and outwardly. On the advice of the reformers John the Steadfast, who had succeeded his brother Frederick the Wise in 1525, instituted a church visitation throughout the Saxon Electorate (1528-29). The changes in the church service which the Reformation had rendered necessary were now introduced. In this important work the following principle was adhered to: that all beautiful rites and practices which had come down from ages

of faith and which could serve to heighten the devotional feelings should be retained, and only what was unevangelical and exotic should be removed. The Latin had to give place to the mother-tongue, the sermon became a main part of the service, the cup was restored to the laity, and the congregation took an active part in the singing, which was now greatly enriched, especially by the beautiful hymns of Martin Luther.

In regard to the constitution and church polity, Luther would much have preferred to reestablish the independent, self-government of the Church under bishops, but as nearly all the bishops adhered to the Catholic Church, the reformers in Saxony were compelled to turn to the Elector and request him to assume the church government at least for the present. In this arrangement no changes were afterwards made, but the highest church authority remained in the hands of the prince, who exercised this authority through consistories, composed of both clerical and lay members. Under the consistories were placed superintendents, who were to ordain ministers, and to superintend the church work in their respective districts.

The church polity adopted in Electoral Saxony served, in the main, as a model for all other German states where the Lutheran Church was established.

For the Christian education of the people and the advancement of higher learning the reformers were earnest and incessant laborers. Through the church visitation, above mentioned, Luther learned that the grossest ignorance prevailed both among the clergy and the people. To remedy this evil he wrote his two catechisms (1529), the larger for teachers and the smaller for the people. His friend Bugenhagen remodeled the institu-

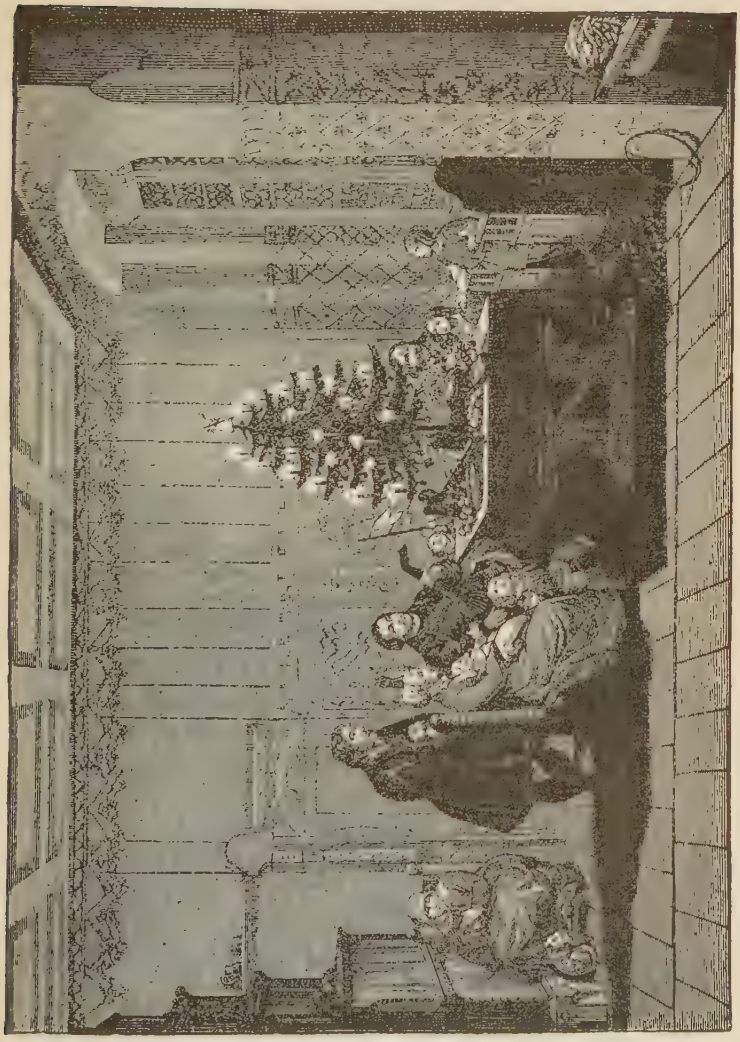
tions of higher learning on the improved principles of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

In social matters the Reformation wrought a complete revolution. Monastic life was no longer the ideal of a Christian life, and men learned to place a higher value upon domestic and civic virtues. Monks and nuns left their convents and entered the world to live the lives of good and useful citizens. Marriage and family life were again held in proper esteem when the ministers were freed from the fetters of celibacy. Luther himself married in 1525, and established a home which became a model of true piety and domestic happiness.

The character and domestic life of Martin Luther. In person Luther was of medium height and heavy build. At the disputation of Leipzig he is described as so emaciated by sorrow and hard study that one could count the bones in his body. Later in life, however, he was fleshier. His expression was somewhat coarse, but full of life and spirit, his eyes were clear and sparkling.

He was of a remarkably versatile genius. With deep and fervent sensibilities he united a vivid imagination and sound judgment. He was rapid in his mental processes. He rapidly grasped a situation, formed his resolutions quickly, and carried them out with determined energy. Even in esthetic lines he was richly endowed. With music and song he refreshed himself during leisure moments, and was a warm friend of other arts. He especially appreciated whatever contributed to increase the devotion and solemnity of the church service. In his hymns, he has himself given the Church the best means for attuning the heart to reverence and devotion. In them sublimity is clothed in childlike simplicity, fervency and depth of feeling in intuitive clearness, and the whole breathes a spirit of Christian heroism and ardent devotion. The first German hymnal was published in 1524, and the following year a new edition was required. Even in our English hymnals Luther's hymns are among the brightest gems, as for instance "A mighty Fortress is our God."

In disposition Luther was frank and sprightly, often playful, and possessed of a large fund of humor. In society he spread joy and sunshine about him. He was at the same time hasty and



LUTHER AT HOME CHRISTMAS EVE 1536.

impetuous and easily aroused against his opponents. This fault, however, he humbly acknowledged, and often wished that he "could mist as softly as Melanchthon, but of swords you can not make down, nor peace of war." Inward conflicts and physical afflictions caused him many dark moments, but by constant faith and prayer he passed through them all.

His capacity for work was remarkable, and it was often taxed to the utmost. He was a diligent lecturer at the university, preached often, was sought as a spiritual adviser by a vast number of persons, did the main part of the work of organizing and superintending the new Church, and yet he found time to give counsel and advice to princes and others in important matters, and to carry on an extensive correspondence. Moreover he gave to his contemporaries and to posterity an invaluable treasure in his Bible translation and his many other important works, which were principally of a doctrinal, exegetical, or polemical nature, and which have served countless thousands "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

Luther was, in the best sense of the word, a popular man. Sprung from the lowest ranks and fully acquainted with all their conditions, he loved the common people, and knew, perhaps better than any one else, how to speak to their hearts, and to give expression to their innermost thoughts and feelings. Like Zwingli he was a true patriot. Himself a noble type of the German nation, he more than any one else laid the foundation for the independent development of the German national spirit.

But Luther could never have accomplished what he did if he had not been the man of faith and prayer that he was. With childlike submission and trustfulness, he laid all his cares before the Lord. "My mantelet", said he, "is faith and prayer. Prayer I hold to be stronger than the devil, what would otherwise have become of Luther?" He spent at least three hours a day in his room in fervent prayer. Whenever he felt assured that God's cause required it, he prayed with a boldness which in the case of an ordinary man would have seemed presumption, as for instance when he was summoned to the bedside of Melanchthon, who had been taken suddenly and seriously ill. "Then", writes he, "my God had me to deal with, for I threw my sack at his door and filled his ears with all his promises of hearing prayer; so that he could not but hear me if I were ever to trust in his promises." Hereupon he approached the bed and seized Philip's hand and cried, "Be of good

courage, Philip, you shall not die." His prayer was answered, and he was permitted to the end of his life to retain at his side this valuable friend.

It was during a period of troubles and trials, while fanatic and Catholic, each in his way, sought to destroy the Reformation, that Luther "to vex the devil and please his father" took the important step of marrying. His choice fell upon a former nun, Catharine von Bora. Luther was fortunate in his marriage and lived a happy family life. He was devotedly attached to his wife, and she on her part always looked up to her husband with the deepest respect, and always addressed him with the title "Doctor". She was faithful in all her household duties and was very economical. This latter virtue was almost a necessity, for Luther's income was never large, at best only 300 gulden (about $1,000) and a home in the old Augustinian convent in Wittenberg, which had been presented to him for a home by the Elector. Luther, however, was very liberal and gave away money, if he had it, or else articles of value, in the happy belief that God would provide. He was glad to receive his friends in his home and entertained them in his family circle with music and song. At table he was very talkative, both in jest and earnest. His friends wrote down a number of his *Table Talks*, and thus they have been preserved to posterity.

Luther had three sons and as many daughters. He gave them all a careful bringing up, judiciously blending earnestness with love. How well he understood how to be a child among children may be seem from his letter to his little son Hans written at Coburg, where he staid during the Diet of Augsburg. From this letter the following extract is made:

"Grace and peace in Christ, my dear little son. I am pleased to see that you learn your lessons well and that you pray diligently. Do so, my dear little Hans, and persevere; and when I come home, I will bring you a nice little present. I know of a pretty garden where merry children run about, that wear golden coats, and gather nice apples, and pears, and cherries, and plums under the trees, and sing and dance, and ride on pretty horses with golden bridles and silver saddles. I asked the man of the place who the children were, and he said, 'These are the children who love to pray and read'. Then I answered, 'Dear sir, I also have a son who is called Hans Luther; may he not also come into the garden, and eat these nice apples and pears, and ride the pretty horses and play

with these children?' 'Yes', said the man, 'if he loves to pray, and read, and is good, he, too, may come into this garden; and Philip and Justus* may also come. And when they have all come here they

Luther's House in Wittenberg.

shall have pipes and drums and lutes and all sorts of musical instruments, and they shall dance and shoot with little crossbows.' Then he showed me a smooth lawn in the garden, laid out for

* Hans Luther's playmates, sons of Melanchthon and Justus Jonas.

dancing, where hung pipes of pure gold, and drums and beautiful silver crossbows. — —"

Luther was also to experience sorrow in his family circle. Two of his daughters died in early years. He was especially attached to one of them, the amiable Magdalena, and the separation from her was almost more than he could bear. But he comforted himself with the assurance "that she would rise again and shine as a star, yea as the sun."

The controversies which Luther had to engage in with men, who like himself had arisen against the Papacy, caused him many sorrows. First there was the controversy about the Lord's Supper with the Swiss Reformers. And a few years later (1537) he had to turn his weapons against one of his own colleagues at Wittenberg, John Agricola, who denied the office of the Law as a Means of Grace, and held that the preaching of the Gospel was sufficient to work both repentance and faith. Luther proved that the Law was necessary not only to convict men of their sins, and to work in them a true sorrow for sin, but also to serve as a rule of life for the regenerated. He succeeded also in convincing his opponent and inducing him to forsake his error (1540).

68. **The External Affairs of the Reformation before the Diet of Augsburg.** The Emperor needed the support of Germany in his wars with France and the Turks, and, therefore, dared not use force against the adherents of the new doctrine, who became more and more numerous from day to day. For this reason the Edict of Worms was never carried out, but the Emperor on the other hand was compelled to give his sanction to the Decree of the Diet of Spires (1526), according to which each Estate of the Empire (prince or free city) was to arrange all church matters within the respective states until a General Church Council could be held. Under this protection the Reformation spread more rapidly than before. The princes had a special reason for favoring this movement as it afforded them an opportunity to assume the highest ecclesiastical authority in their respective states and to confiscate to the crown the vast estates of the

Church. But in this way there arose a mingling of spiritual and temporal interests, which was deprecated by the Reformers, and which brought about unhappy results for the future.

Like the Electorate of Saxony many of the free cities and principalities now opened themselves to the spread of the Gospel. Among these Hesse assumed the most important position for a time, as its energetic landgrave, Philip the Magnanimous, took the lead in all measures for the defence of the evangelical doctrines against outward force. Furthermore the doctrines of the Reformation spread practically throughout all Catholic Christendom, and in most countries the adherents constituted vast multitudes. In some places the latter were subjected to cruel persecutions, and many ended their days as martyrs of the cause.

When the Emperor had at last concluded peace with France, the Reformation seemed for awhile in danger. Measures were now taken for carrying out the Edict of Worms. At a new Diet of Spires (1529) a resolution to that effect was adopted. Against this resolution the evangelical princes offered a protest. From this circumstance they were called Protestants, a name afterwards applied to all who approved the principles of the Reformation—Material and Formal.

69. **The Diet of Augsburg.** The Emperor now decided to take up the religious question for final decision at a new diet, which he summoned to meet at Augsburg in the spring of 1530. The Protestant princes prepared to present to the Diet a brief statement of their belief. This was drawn up by Melanchthon and was read at the diet on the 25th of June the same year. It has received the name of the Augsburg Confession and constitutes the chief symbolical book of the Lutheran Church. It

contains 28 articles. In the first 21 articles it gives a short, but clear presentation of the main doctrines of the Lutheran Church, and in the 7 last articles the abuses of the Catholic Church which had been rejected. This modest, definite, and biblical presentation made a favorable impression even on many of the Catholic princes. But the Emperor ordered his theologians to prepare a refutation of it. This refutation he declared contained the principles which he would hold to, and demanded that the Protestant princes should declare themselves convinced. In reply to this refutation, Melanchthon prepared a defence of the Augsburg Confession (the Apology). The Emperor, however, refused to receive it, and the decree of the Diet threatened forcible measures. The Protestant princes were, however, given time for consideration until the middle of April the following year.

Melanchthon afterwards revised his *Apology* and published it the following year. It constitutes the second symbolical book of the Lutheran Church.

70. **The League of Schmalkald.** Several of the evangelical cities now formed a defensive league at Schmalkald against the dangers threatened by the decree of the Diet of Augsburg (1531). The chief men of the League were the Elector of Saxony—first John the Steadfast (died 1532), then his son and successor John Frederick—and the Landgrave of Hesse, Philip the Magnanimous. This spirited demonstration together with an invasion of the Turks made the Emperor more conciliatory, and the religious peace of Nuremberg was concluded (1532), which granted freedom to the Protestant states until a General Church Council should decide the religious controversies.

The Pope, who still held in fresh memory the Reform-

atory Church Councils, was averse to summoning a new synod, but was finally compelled to yield and called a meeting of the Church at Mantua (1537). At the same time he demanded that the Protestants should pledge themselves in advance to abide by the resolution adopted by the majority. When the Protestants, as was natural, refused to pledge themselves, he suspended the meeting.

In the mean time the Protestants had prepared themselves to give an account of their faith at this meeting too. For this purpose Luther drew up a confession in which he on the one hand laid down the main points of his doctrine, and on the other repudiated the errors of the Catholic Church in such incisive terms that this document may well be regarded as the Lutheran abjuration of Catholicism. This Confession was signed —together with the Apology of the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Larger and Smaller Catechisms— at a meeting held by the Protestants in Schmalkald, and has, therefore, been called the *Schmalkald Articles.*

They constitute the third symbolical book of the Lutheran Church; Luther's two catechisms constitute the fourth. At this meeting the Protestant princes also renewed the defensive league against the Emperor and the Catholic princes.

71. **The Schmalkaldic War.** Finally the Emperor succeeded in obtaining peace from his enemies, and prepared himself to attack the Schmalkaldic League. But first the Pope was compelled to call a Church Council. This he summoned at Trent, in 1545. The Protestants did not think it worthwhile to send delegates to a meeting conducted by their mortal enemy, the Pope. The Emperor then felt authorized to proceed against them with military force. Some time, however, was spent in

negotiations, during which Luther was permitted to lay down his weary head to rest and thus escaped the evils of a religious war. He died at Eisleben, 1546.

Shortly afterwards the war broke out. The Protestants allowed the favorable moment for attacking the Emperor to pass by. One of their princes, Duke Maurice of Saxony, son-in-law of Philip of Hesse, moved by selfish interests went over to the Emperor's side. In this way the Emperor soon made himself master of the South German Protestants, and then completely vanquished the Elector John Frederick at Mühlberg (1547). The latter was taken prisoner, and Maurice received a part of his lands and the electoral dignity. The Landgrave Philip of Hesse had then no other recourse than to surrender. He, too, contrary to the Emperor's promise to Maurice, was kept in captivity.

For several years it looked as if the cause of the Reformation in Germany was lost. But by and by there came an unexpected turn in affairs. Duke Maurice, dissatisfied with the Emperor's treatment of the Landgrave Philip and with his conduct toward the princes in general, turned his forces against his former ally. The Emperor, who was not prepared for such contingencies, was forced to conclude the Peace of Passau (1552), which was afterwards confirmed by the religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). By the terms of this peace it was stipulated that such princes of the Empire as had adopted the Augsburg Confession or would do so in the future were to enjoy religious freedom and equal privileges with the Catholics. Princes of the Reformed Church were not included in this peace. Regarding ecclesiastical princes it was further stipulated that should they turn Lutherans they were to give up their sees, and their lands were to remain in the possession of

the Catholic Church. This was known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation. To this point was added the statement that the Lutheran princes had not agreed to it. Thus there still remained various seeds of strife, and these became in time the main cause of the Thirty Years' War, which was at first waged principally as a religious war.

Luther's Death. Luther had often wished and prayed that he might escape the evils of a religious war, and he had the firm conviction that his prayer would be answered. Many labors and cares had broken him down and made him weary of the world. It grieved him, too, to see professed Christians lead unworthy lives and strive among themselves for earthly trifles. His last work was the settlement of a quarrel of this kind, which had arisen between the counts of Mansfeld. For this purpose he had to leave Wittenberg in the beginning of the year 1546 and go to Eisleben. Here he fell sick, and though his sickness was not very severe, for he was able to be up the most of the time, yet he felt that his earthly struggles would soon be over. And in this thought he rejoiced, but at the same time he was filled with anxiety for the future of Germany, and admonished his friends after his departure to pray diligently for strength to hold out in the trials that lay before them.

In the afternoon of the 17th of February his sufferings increased. He complained of pains in his breast, and three times in succession repeated, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit, for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth." He also comforted himself with these words of Scripture, "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." The medicine administered did not help and his end was rapidly approaching. Then one of the pastors present cried aloud in his ear, "Reverend father, wilt thou hold fast to and die in the doctrine which thou hast preached?" His answer was clear and distinct, "Yes". He then turned upon his other side and fell asleep, and after a quarter of an hour calmly and peacefully breathed his last, at two o'clock in the morning of February 18th.

By the request of the Elector his body was taken to Wittenberg. High and low joined in the solemn procession and sorrowfully followed the remains of their beloved teacher. His body was taken

to the church upon whose door his 95 theses had been nailed. Bugenhagen preached the funeral sermon in German, and Melanchthon in Latin. The grave was made in the church itself to the right of the pulpit from which he had so often proclaimed the words of life.

Thus passed away this hero of faith, perhaps "the greatest that the Church has had within her bosom since the days of the Apostles." "He was taken from trouble and permitted to enter into peaceful rest." But his deeds and words prompted by a living faith died not with him, but through them he yet spreaketh though he be dead.

b. The Reformation in Switzerland.

72. **The Reformation in German Switzerland.** In Zürich the pastor of the place, *Ulrich Zwingli*, arose, in 1519, against the sale of indulgencies and, further, declared that the Holy Scriptures should be the sole authority in all religious matters. He stirred up a great commotion, which spread to several German cantons and there brought about changes in the Church, bringing it into a closer agreement with the teaching of the Bible. Among his most distinguished co-workers was the learned and pious Œcolampadius, who introduced the Reformation into Basel.

Zwingli had not had the deep experience of sin and grace that Luther had, but rather by classical culture and thorough study of the Scriptures he had come to a more liberal view and truer conception of Christianity. He laid special stress upon clear and logical definition, and presented in a distinct manner the contrasts between the old and the new. As a citizen of a small independent state, he took a lively interest in political matters. This gave to his reform movement a complexion entirely different from that of the Lutheran Reformation. While Luther proceeded from the material

principle of the Reformation and made it his chief aim to bring men to a life of faith and joy in the Lord, Zwingli proceeded from the formal principle and made it his chief object to lift men out of the darkness of ignorance and superstition. In outward changes, as for instance, in the order of service and the like, Zwingli was quite radical and removed everything which was not enjoined in the Word of God. Luther would hear of no other means for the establishment of the Reformation than the preaching of the Word and the right administration of the Sacraments, while Zwingli did not think it wrong for the state to use force for the spread of the Gospel.

It is, however, in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper that the views of Luther and Zwingli are the most divergent. Luther taught that in the Lord's Supper the true body and blood of Christ are really present, and that *in*, *with*, and *under* the bread and the wine they are received by all the communicants, by the believers unto the forgiveness of sins and eternal life, and by the unbelievers unto condemnation and death. Zwingli on the other hand held that the bread and wine symbolically represented but did not convey the body and blood of Christ, and, hence, that the Lord's Supper was simply a memorial service and not a means of grace. After several controversial pamphlets had been exchanged, the Landgrave of Hesse, who labored to unite all the Protestants, arranged a conference at Marburg between the leaders of the two divergent tendencies of the Reformation (1529). On several points they reached an agreement, but in regard to the question of the Lord's Supper neither party would yield. Luther pointed to the Words of Institution, "This is my body", and parted from the Swiss Reformers with the words,

"Yours is a different spirit from ours." From that time the German and the Swiss Reformers went divergent ways, and gave rise to the two divisions of the Protestant Church, the Lutheran and the Reformed.

Zwingli's appeal to the sword led to war between the Catholic and the Reformed cantons. The heart of the former consisted of the three original cantons of the Confederation — Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden. In a battle at Kappel (1531), the Catholics were victorious, and Zwingli was slain. After this the reform movements were suppressed in all the cantons in which the Catholics were in the majority, while the others held fast to the purer doctrines delivered to them by Zwingli and others.

Ulrich Zwingli was descended from a wealthy peasant family and was born in Wildhaus, a few miles south of St. Gall, in 1484. His father was bailiff of Wildhaus. The boy's mind was early filled with the stories of his forefathers' struggles for liberty. Love of liberty and truth also became his life-long characteristics. Destined by his parents for the service of the Church, he was early sent to school, first at Basel and afterwards at Berne, where he received thorough instruction in Roman literature.

At the age of sixteen, he entered the University of Vienna, where he engaged in humanistic studies. A few years later we find him again at Basel, where he was placed under a teacher who, to be sure, taught scholastic philosophy, but in a liberal spirit, and who taught his disciples to place a higher value on the Holy Scriptures than on scholastic subtleties. After having here received the degree of Master of Arts, he was appointed pastor at Glarus, in 1506.

During his ten years' stay at this place, he not only labored incessantly for the moral uplifting of his congregation, but also with a remarkably free and unprejudiced mind he sought truth for his own sake. He began the study of Greek and above all the New Testament, since the original text had now been edited by Erasmus of Rotterdam. With the latter he had already become acquainted through correspondence and was for a long time one of his most enthusiastic admirers, though he afterwards went much further in his reforms than Erasmus would approve of.

ULRICH ZWINGLI.

He also studied the writings of the church fathers, especially those of St. Augustine. Still he felt that he could understand the Scriptures better when he read them without the help of commentators and only let the simpler and clearer passages explain the more difficult one.

At this time it was customary for large numbers of Swiss youths to go forth as mercenary soldiers, especially to Italy to take part in the wars of the Pope, and more than once Zwingli himself accompanied his fellow-townsmen as chaplain to the land south of the Alps and was present at various engagements, among others at the battle of Marignano. With a clearer judgment than most of his contemporaries he saw the political and moral dangers to his country that lurked in this military service and in the large annual gifts made by foreign princes to the officers of the various cantons to secure their favor. He published several pamphlets in which he pointed out these dangers and earnestly warned his countrymen. This brought him many enemies at home, and it was with a feeling of relief that he accepted a subordinate vicarship at Einsiedeln, in the canton of Schwyz. In the meantime his place in Glarus was filled by a vicar.

For two years and a half he labored in Einsiedeln, and had an excellent opportunity to study a special feature of the abuses of the Catholic Church. There happened to be in a convent of Einsiedeln a so-called miracle-working image of the Virgin Mary, and over the convent gate blazed the inscription, "Here the full forgiveness of all sins may be obtained." Hither flocked every year large numbers of pilgrims from Switzerland and South Germany. Zwingli did not as yet directly oppose the Catholic Church, but only admonished her leaders to remove abuses, and openly attacked the sale of indulgencies which had found its way even to these regions. He preached the Word of God in its purity according to his judgment and sought to show that pilgrimages were not sufficient to give peace to a troubled conscience.

A wider field was opened to him when he was called to the cathedral church in Zürich. On New Year's Day 1519 — the anniversary of his birth; he was now 35 years old — he entered the pulpit and preached his first sermon. He announced that he did not intend to preach on the texts used in the Church since the time of Charlemagne, but would return to the practice of the early Church and expound the books of the Bible one by one in order. To begin with

he would present the life of Christ according to St. Matthew. He would thus set the Word of God in its entirety once more upon the candlestick, fully assured that true enlightenment would thus spread among the people.

His sermons made a great stir. Educated men who for years had abstained from going to church as something entirely useless became his most interested listeners. There was a temporary interruption in his preaching when the plague broke out in Zürich, in the summer of 1519, which swept away one-third of the inhabitants. In a most heroic manner Zwingli braved the horrors of the plague to comfort and help the sick and the dying. At last he was himself stricken and was near unto death. During his illness he composed several spiritual songs which bear evidence of a true evangelical faith and mature Christian life. Upon his recovery he resumed his preaching and enjoyed the support of the city council, which in the following year (1520) issued an order to all preachers to teach only what they could defend by the Holy Scriptures.

When a few years later he undertook to show how little ground there was in the Bible for the ordinances of the fast, the higher church authorities, who had hitherto been most lenient, began to oppose the new movement in a most determined manner. Some fanatical Catholics even sought the life of the fearless reformer. But, in consequence, Zwingli's views only spread the more rapidly and won new victories. There were a number of well attended religious debates held in Zürich, in which Zwingli grounded in the Scriptures won easy victories.

He now began the translation of the Bible into the mother-tongue, and in this important work he was zealously assisted by another pastor in Zürich by the name of Leo Judæ. The Council became more pronounced in its support of his efforts, and gradually a number of changes were introduced. Most of the monasteries were suppressed, the clergy were allowed to marry, Zwingli himself took a wife, the system of holy-days was abolished, and images were removed from the churches; a new liturgy written in the mother-tongue was introduced, altars were torn down, paintings were erased or covered with a coat of whitewash, and even church organs were thrown out.

In place of the altar a table was procured, covered with a white cloth, and upon this were placed, during the celebration of the Lord's Supper, wooden vessels and cups with unleavened bread

and wine. When the bread and wine had been consecrated by the minister, they were distributed by the deacons to the communicants, who knelt each in his own pew. The sermon was made the chief part of the service. The Latin chants and songs were abolished, and their places were seldom filled with congregational singing in the mother-tongue, for Zwingli held that whatever was not directly enjoined in the New Testament should be abolished. Luther, on the other hand, did not go to such lengths, but in regard to forms and church polity he removed only what was contrary to the Word of God.

Zwingli was constantly engaged in sore conflicts. For a time the Anabaptists caused him great trouble. These fanatics, who advocated among other changes also community of goods, had come even to Switzerland and had there occasioned a great deal of disturbance. For doctrine they cared little, but were fanatical in their efforts to transform everything in Church and State according to biblical directions understood in their most literal sense. Zwingli opposed them with great vigor, but was anxious to have them treated as leniently as possible.

Of far greater significance was the unhappy Sacramental Controversy between the Germans and the Swiss. Zwingli's part in it and the religious conference at Marburg have already been related.

The more the Reformation spread in Switzerland — St. Gall, Berne, Basel, and other cities and cantons followed the example of Zürich — the more did the hostility of the Catholic cantons increase, and they formed a league among themselves against the Reformation. After several efforts at mediation had failed, these cantons advanced with a strong force against Zürich. Zwingli had always advocated war, because he felt that the religious question in Switzerland could be settled only by the sword, and when the enemy now approached, he went forth as chaplain with the army to Kappel, where the decisive battle was fought (1531). The greatly inferior forces of Zürich were completely crushed, and Zwingli was severely wounded. "And is this a misfortune?" he exclaimed as he fell. "They may, indeed, kill the body, but not the soul." Some Catholic soldiers found him lying wounded, and asked him if he would confess to a priest or at last invoke the Holy Virgin, but he only shook his head. Then one of them struck him dead with his sword. The following day the body of the "great heretic" was found and recognized. It was quartered and burned, and the ashes scattered to the winds.

In private life Zwingli made no distinction between high and low, but was friendly to all, and practiced great hospitality. Like Luther he was a great lover of music, and was himself a performer on several instruments.

Should we further compare him with Luther we would find that his spiritual life had never been troubled with such fierce inward storms as the German reformer's. Neither had Zwingli at any time so unconditionally pledged his obedience to the Church as Luther did when he became a monk, and, consequently, no such heroic efforts were needed to tear him loose from this Church. In his search for truth and his bible study he had learned to know the errors of the Church in doctrine and institutions and this together with his natural bent made him a reformer.

73. **The Reformation in French Switzerland.** From German Switzerland the reform movement quickly spread to the French. Here the Reformation was established principally by a French exile, *John Calvin*, who came to Geneva (1536), and was persuaded to remain there. Calvin was born in Picardy and was early distinguished for his remarkable mental gifts and great learning. The Bible and the writings of the reformers had opened his eyes to the truth. But when he freely expressed his convictions, he was compelled to flee from his native land. In Geneva he was first called upon to deal with a party of about the same nature as the Zwickau prophets (the so-called Libertines). This party had succeeded in securing the support of the city magistrates. But by the unyielding firmness and stern discipline which always characterized Calvin, he finally succeeded in making himself master of this faction. From this time he placed his mark upon all the religious affairs of the city as well as on the civil government and the whole future development of the community. His influence afterwards spread to the whole Reformed Church. Nearly everywhere the Zwinglian type gave way to the Cal-

vinistic, and, hence, Calvin may rightly be called the second founder of this Church.

Calvin had a far deeper conception of the Lord's Supper than Zwingli. He represents the bread and wine as an earnest of God's grace, and speaks of a spiritual power which proceeds from the glorified Saviour on the right hand of the Father, and which is imparted to all believing communicants.

In the doctrine of sin and grace, Calvin, like the other reformers, followed St. Augustine. The latter's predestination doctrine he also accepted and carried it to a still greater extent, teaching with rigid consistency not only that God has from eternity elected some men to eternal life, but also that he has elected the others to eternal death.

Unlike Luther and Zwingli, Calvin sought to make the Church wholly independent of the State, and at the same time, in case of necessity, to place the latter at the service of the Church. A synodical Church polity was established. This reached its fullest application in Scotland. There the care of the congregation was entrusted to the pastor and certain laymen, called Elders, elected as his assistants. A group of local churches was placed under a *Presbytery*, composed of Elders, Pastors, and Doctors (professors at schools and universities). The church authority in a whole province belonged to the *Provincial Synod*, composed of deputies from the presbyteries. The general supervision of the Church throughout the whole country fell to the *General Synod*, to which the provincial synods sent their delegates.

Calvin introduced a severe discipline, which extended even to trifling matters. He assigned great importance to outward discipline, and thus laid the foundation for

a certain legalism, which, in general, characterizes the Reformed Church.

In regard to the service, Calvin followed, in the main, the same principles as Zwingli. Hence, all ornaments were removed from the churches, and the service was stripped of all ceremonies and variations of prayer and song. On the reading and preaching of the Word all stress was laid, while the liturgical part of the service was wholly neglected.

John Calvin was born in Picardy in 1509. A serious and religious turn of mind characterized the boy at an early age. The father, a poor notary, destined him at first for the service of the Church, and sent him for this purpose to Paris to study theology. But before long he changed his mind and ordered his son to take up instead the study of jurisprudence, in the hope that a more brilliant career would thus be opened to him. The son obeyed and devoted himself with great success to his legal studies at various universities in France, and at the age of 19 received from the University of Orleans the doctor's dignity. Thus was his naturally keen intellect developed to still greater acuteness.

At this time there occurred in him a thorough inward change. He felt troubled in conscience, and the thought of God awakened only fear and terror. No works of penance afforded him peace. Then there occurred in his soul a "sudden conversion", to use his own words, and from that time Catholicism was dead to him. He now began an earnest study of the Bible, and as his father shortly afterwards died, he returned to Paris to resume his theological studies, and began to preach to a small congregation of Protestants. The outbreak of a bloody persecution soon compelled him to leave France and to seek a refuge in Basel (1534).

Here he published, during the following year, what may perhaps be regarded as his most important work, his Institutio Christianæ Religionis (Instruction in the Christian Religion). The immediate reason for the publication of this work was his desire to present the views of the French Protestants and thus defend his evangelical countrymen against Francis I., who had accused them of being fanatical and rebellious Anabaptists.

After having spent some time in Italy, at the Court of Farrara, where several French exiles had found a refuge, he passed through

Geneva on his way back to Basel (1536). Here the greatest disorder prevailed. The city had adopted the Reformation, but only in an outward way. The ordinances of the old Church had been abolished, but no new regulations had been introduced. Lawlessness among the inhabitants prevailed on every hand. Several Protestant preachers of French extraction, among others *Farel*, labored to bring about better conditions, but with little success. When this Farel happened to hear that Calvin was in the city he hunted him up and practically compelled him to remain there by declaring that the judgment of a just God would be upon him if he shirked his duty to come forward at this place as a witness of the truth.

JOHN CALVIN.
(After a contemporaneous picture.)

Calvin yielded to this threat, and thus revealed a fundamental trait of his character and of his religious views. For in this there was especially revealed a *fear* of God, manifesting itself in rigid obedience to his commands, a certain legal and Old Testament spirit, which is rather foreign to the thought of *God* as the loving and beloved Father and *men* as his children. With moral sternness and severe discipline, Calvin would subdue the hearts of men and thus win them for Christ.

What wonder if by such methods he made many enemies? The rising discontent came to a head when Calvin and two other preachers (Easter 1538) declared that they could not celebrate the Lord's Supper because of the prevailing profligacy and immorality.

When they would not yield they were ordered to leave the city within two days.

With a feeling of relief Calvin hurried northward, and stopped at Strassburg, where he became the pastor of a congregation of French exiles. At the same time he lectured at the university of the place and was busily engaged as a theological writer. He also took part in several religious conferences of the German Protestants, and formed a lasting friendship with Philip Melanchthon, to whose view of the Lord's Supper he was more favorably inclined than to that of Zwingli.

In the meantime Calvin did not forget his congregation in Geneva, but assisted it in word and deed. Disorder and lawlessness had increased to a fearful extent, and the more serious and conservative part of the people began most earnestly to desire the return of the enegetic reformer. It was finally decided to recall him. After some hesitation he returned to Geneva and was received with great demonstrations of joy (1541). But all opposition was not yet broken. His life was threatenad more than once, and a large part of the inhabitants (the so-called Libertines) were always dissatisfied with his severe church discipline. They sought again and again to overthrow him, and once even by an open insurrection. That they failed was due largely to the great number of exiles — Frenchmen, Netherlanders, Englishmen, and others driven from their homes by religious persecutions — who had come to Geneva with earnest and serious minds, well steeled in the school of persecution, and there became the main stay and support of John Calvin.

With invincible energy he now carried out in a thorough and systematic manner the organization of the new Church. *Doctrine* and *Morality* he placed in the closest relation to each other. Even in the doctrine of predestination he proceeded in the interest of practical religion. He would give to his brethren in the faith (the elect) an absolute assurance of God's grace, and thus preserve them from a relapse into the Catholic Church.

Upon the Church and its right organization he laid the greatest stress. Church government was given an aristocratic trait. The election of a pastor was to be made by the other pastors of the city, and confirmed by the city council and the congregation concerned. The office of bishop was abolished, but deacons were retained to assist the pastor in the care of the sick and the poor of the congregation.

Church discipline was to be exercised by the Consistory (the Presbytery), composed of the six pastors of the place and twelve elders, elected by the council. Severe discipline was exercised upon high and low. Prominent councilmen who had fallen into sin were denied the communion. Gamblers were placed in the pillory with their cards tied around their necks. A son who had abused his parents was put to death. Geneva was to be a model for a reformed state, and such it became in many respects. Undoubtedly they often went too far in their zeal, and after the manner of the times invaded the sphere of private life. Thus, for instance, no one was allowed to lie sick in bed three days without summoning the pastor. Even the number of courses and guests at invitations were regulated by ordinances.

With regard to church service, Calvin had on the whole the same views as Zwingli. He introduced, however, congregational singing, using at first certain portions of the Psalms translated and versified by himself. The Lord's Supper was administered four times a year. The service opened with the confession of sin. Calvin himself preached every day alternate weeks. His manner of preaching was clear and convincing. He was, however, not a popular preacher like Luther. Sunday was kept with the greatest strictness. Christmas and other great feast-days were kept, but not with the same solemnity as among the Lutherans.

Shortly after his first arrival in Geneva, Calvin had begun lectures on the Bible before large audiences, which were continually increasing. As a scientific expounder of the Scriptures he undoubtedly ranked very high. Five years before his death an academy was established at Geneva, which attained great celebrity Young men from various parts of Europe came here to study. They afterwards labored in their respective lands for the spread of the Reformation in the spirit of John Calvin.

His influence extended far and wide not only into France, but also to England, Scotland, and other lands. His greatest difficulty was to win the German Swiss. They suspected him of being a secret Lutheran, and would not accept his predestination doctrine, and only after much hesitation would they, in the main, accept his views of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Calvin was often accused of harshness, not exactly against personal enemies, but dissenters from his doctrines. His conduct toward the Spaniard Michael Servetus, especially, can not be de-

fended. This man, a restless spirit, had denied the doctrine of the trinity and by his inflammable style of writing had caused much offense. When in his wanderings he reached Geneva, he was arrested by Calvin's orders, and when he would not recant, he was condemned by the council and burned alive (1553).

But Calvin was strict not only with others but with himself as well. He fought hard against his faults, especially against his impetuosity and impatience of which he was fully conscious. His capacity for work was unparalleled. Only four or five hours a day were given to sleep. In appearance he was a spare medium sized man, with a pale face and quick, lively eyes. During his stay at Strassburg he married. After nine years his wife died. Calvin mourned her sincerely. It would be wrong to say that he was unfeeling. His sensibilities were, however, far overbalanced by his masterful intellect and iron will. In this respect he has been compared to Gregory VII.

Calvin had always had a weak body, and his strength was no doubt greatly undermined by his stupendous labors. Several cases of severe illness during his latter years also contributed toward the same end. But against all these afflictions he fought with manly courage, and continued his indefatigable labors to the very last. When he felt his end approaching he took a touching leave of the council and the pastors, and a few days afterwards he passed away (May 1564).

He had given orders that his funeral should be performed without any pomp, and that no monument should be erected on his grave.

c. The Catholic Counter-Reformation.

74. **The Council of Trent.** Against the Reformation the Papal Church was now aroused in a contest which awakened to new life all her slumbering powers. Efforts were made to carry out the reformation in head and members which the Middle Ages had sought in vain to effect. A succession of prominent popes arose and the most glaring abuses in the Church were abolished. But the question was not to effect a thorough reformation, but only to rejuvinate the Church upon the false basis

laid during the Middle Ages. Outwardly all efforts were made to regain as many of the countries lost by the Reformation as possible, and to make up for lands lost in Europe by new conquests in other continents. These efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to revive herself and to rally her forces against the Reformation have been called her Counter-Reformation. The most prominent means for the accomplishment of this end were the *Council of Trent* and the *Order of Jesuits.*

The Council of Trent lasted with various intermissions from 1545 to 1563. Here the doctrines gradually developed during the Middle Ages were definitely formulated and adopted. Contrary to the principles of the Reformation (§§ 62 and 63) Tradition was given the same authority as the Scriptures, and Justification was held to be not a *forensic* act in which God by grace imputes to the believer the righteousness of Christ, but on the other hand a *healing* act by which God infuses into man an inner righteousness partly through the merits of Christ and partly through and in proportion to man's own good works.

The Decree of the Council of Trent was published in 1564. This was soon followed by a summary of the same approved by the Pope and known as the Tridentine Creed, and by a Roman Catechism. These three works constitute the first symbolical books of the Roman Church.

75. **The Order of Jesuits.** In place of the old monastic orders, which on account of their ruin and decay could no longer serve as a prop to the Papacy there now appeared a number of new orders among which that of the Jesuits was the most important. The founder of the order was a Spanish nobleman, named *Ignatius*

Loyola, who with the most ardent enthusiasm for the Catholic Church combined a rich measure of practical sense and invincible energy. With a few others of like mind, he organized the Society of Jesus, which received the papal sanction in 1540. In a stricter way than in any other order was the duty of implicit obedience enforced. In its organization the order was of a military nature and aimed at emancipating its members from everything that is usually dear to the human heart — fatherland, family, kindred, and friends — and changing them into passive but efficient instruments in its hands.

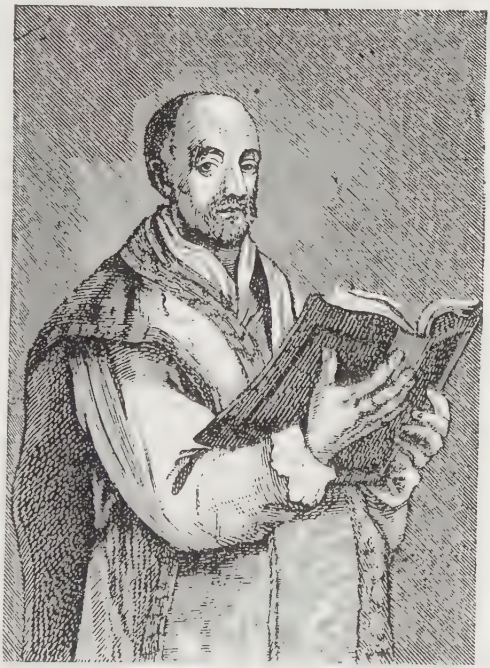
The Jesuits made it their chief mission to further the interests of the Catholic Church with all available means. They went forth as missionaries to foreign lands, to India, Japan, China, and the newly discovered lands in America. They founded schools for the promotion of humanistic culture. As pastors and confessors they knew how to extend their influence among both princes and people. They covered Europe with their nets, and inaugurated a Catholic restoration, which for centuries involved Europe in bloody religious wars and terrible persecutions.

But the darkest side of Jesuitism was its pernicious moral code. A Jesuit could well-nigh resort to all manner of fraud and acts of violence and defend himself with various sophism based on the principle that the *end justifies the means.*

Ignatius Loyola was born at the castle of Loyola in the province of Guipuzcoa in 1491. In his early years he espoused the profession of a soldier. At the defence of Pampeluna against the French, he was severely wounded in one of his feet. For a long time he was confined to his couch. During this time he devoted himself to reading the legends of the saints and of the Virgin Mary. His soul was fired with an earnest desire to emulate the saints in self-renunciation and the abandonment of the world. Upon his recovery

he vowed himself a knight of the Holy Virgin. His new life was inaugurated by a series of ascetic practices in which he mortified his body with severe scourging and rigorous fasts. He also devoted himself most earnestly to pious meditations during which he thought himself favored with revelations of Christ and the Virgin.

His first intention was to preach the Gospel to the infidels in Palestine, and he even made a short visit to the Holy Land. He soon realized, however, that if he was to accomplish anything he must secure himself a better education. Although 35 years old he began the study of the rudiments, and by great diligence and application made rapid progress. He studied at several universities and finally at Paris. During this period of study, he secured a few devoted followers, mostly of the Spanish nationality. With these he organized a society in 1534. At first they intended to adopt Loyola's plan and go forth as missionaries to the Holy Land. This plan had to be abandoned in consequence of the war between the Emperor and the Turks. They then decided to offer their services to the Pope. After some hesitation he gave his sanction to the order in 1540.



IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

At the head of the order is a *General* with his seat in Rome. Loyola was the first general of the order until his death in 1556.

After him followed in succession Jacob Lainez and Francis Borgia. The latter is reported to have made the following well-known utterance: "We come in like lambs, we rule like wolves, we are driven out like dogs, but we return like eagles." The orders of the general are obeyed by all Jesuits. He is himself subject only to the orders of the Pope, but must be guided by the rules of the order. By the side of the general stand an "admonisher" and four assistants, whose duty it is to watch his conduct, and in case he should be guilty of serious errors, they might make a complaint to the general congregation, which meets every third year. The order was divided into four classes: First there were the *masters* or *professi*, who beside the usual monastic vows added one of obedience to the Pope in regard to accepting without pay any mission to which they might be appointed. To this class only able and experienced men were admitted. From them were elected the chief officers of the order and all who were entrusted with secret commissions. Next in order came the *assistants*, or *coadjutores*, made up of priests and lay brethren. From them were chosen the presidents of many colleges and universities of the order. The third class was made up of the *teachers*, or *scholastici*, who engaged in learned studies, and were employed as instructors in the schools. In the fourth class were the novices. Besides these the order could employ spiritual and temporal co-workers, who could be dismissed from service at any time, and whose vows were binding only while in the service of the order.

The novices were trained according to a system of "spiritual exercises", which Loyola himself with excellent psychological insight had prepared and tried upon himself and others. By fixed methods the feeling and phantasy of the novice were wrought up to a high tension, and he was made to believe that without the order there was only misery and death while full salvation could be secured only within it. In this way he was usually after a certain period led to beg to be received into the higher classes.

The Jesuits knew how to employ the various faculties of their members, but their training on the whole did not tend to develop what was truest and best in human nature. Family life, love of country, friendship all had to be sacrificed in the interests of the order. Even between members of the order true friendship and confidence could rarely exist. The prevailing system of espionage prevented it. One member was to keep a careful watch over the

other's conduct and report his observations to his superior. In this way the superiors always had minute and definite reports of their inferiors.

This same practice prevailed also in their schools. One pupil was encouraged to watch the conduct of the others and to report to the teacher. Otherwise the Jesuits were noted for their mild discipline. Corporal punishment was seldom resorted to. Their method was to spur the pupils on by bestowing public prizes and honorable mentions. Their instruction tended rather to produce brilliant than solid results. For pupils they usually preferred the children of noble and wealthy families and such as intended to enter the ministry, in order to secure influential patrons of their order and zealous supporters of the Catholic Church.

Their widest and most pernicious influence they exerted as preachers and pastors. As confessors they knew how to secure a complete control over the consciences of the penitents. At the same time they made themselves agreeable by making allowances for men's weaknesses and shortcomings. They did not demand a complete breaking off from sin. They bolstered up vice and made carnal deeds appear as virtues.

It is in the field of foreign missions that the order presents its most favorable side. Francis Xavier, their first missionary in heathen lands, deserves our unstinted admiration. He began his labors on the west coast of Hindustan. He lived in every respect as a despised Pariah (the lowest caste in India), and endured every hardship and self-denial to win hearts for Christ. He also carried the glad tidings of salvation to Japan, and labored there with the same self-sacrificing zeal. But it was not long before the Jesuit mission began to degenerate. In their compromises with heathen views and customs they went to the greatest lengths, and by and by the congregations established by them retained little of Christianity except the name and a few religious forms. The Pope was at last compelled to interfere to correct these abuses.

In Europe their steps fairly reek with blood. Religious wars, religious persecutions, open violence, and secret crimes mark their path. Everything was allowed if it could only be made to appear that it promoted the interests of the Roman Church and of their order. "Destruction and misery are in their ways: and the way of peace have they not known."

B. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

a. The Territory of the Lutheran Church.

76. **The Lutheran Church in Middle and Southern Europe.** In *Germany* the Lutheran Church prevailed in the *northern* and *southwestern states.* A few of the latter (the Palatinate, Hesse, and others), however, afterwards went over to the Reformed Church. On the other hand the Catholic Church succeeded by heroic efforts to maintain itself in Westphalia and the Rhine Provinces.

In the *Austrian lands* the reform movement started very early. In *Bohemia* and *Moravia* the ground had been prepared through the labors of John Huss. The doctrines of the Bohemian Brethren approached the Lutheran very closely, and among the Calixtines many were won for the Reformation. Before long the Protestants were strong enough to demand religious liberty, which was secured to them by a royal charter in 1609. This liberty was, however, of short duration owing to the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War. In the *German hereditary lands of Austria* as well as in *Hungary* and *Siebenbürgen* there were also many Protestants, who were often sorely oppressed for conscience' sake.

In *Prussia* the Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order, Albert of Brandenburg, became a Lutheran as early as 1525, and secularized his estates, i.e. he converted them into a temporal duchy. His example was followed by the Grand-Master of the Order of the Sword and thus the Reformation was established in all of the so-called *Baltic Provinces.*

In *Poland* the Reformation won many friends in its early period. Lutherans, Reformed, and Bohemian Brethren here formed a union and succeeded in securing

religious freedom. It seemed at one time as if Poland would become a Protestant country. But during the long reign of Sigismund III., the Jesuits succeeded in effecting a counter-reformation, which secured to the Catholic Church a decided ascendancy.

Even *Italy* and *Spain* had at one time not a few evangelical believers. But by the inquisition and other instruments of force the light was put out, and papal darkness again completely enveloped these lands.

77. **The Lutheran Church in the Scandinavian Countries.** The Evangelical doctrines were taught in *Denmark* as early as the reign of Christian II. His successor, Frederick I., was a zealous supporter of the Reformation, and in spite of the opposition of the Catholic clergy, the Evangelical doctrines spread rapidly in different parts of the kingdom.

The great war which broke out after the death of Frederick I., though not a religious war, yet decided the fate of the Reformation in Denmark. The victorious Christian III. and the nobility were zealous Lutherans, and through their influence the Reformation was formally established in Denmark by a decree of the Diet of Copenhagen in 1536. Luther's friend, Doctor Bugenhagen, was called in to complete the new church organization.

In *Norway*, which now became a province of Denmark, the Reformation was established by a government order. But the common people long continued loyal to the old faith. In *Iceland* Catholicism maintained itself until 1550.

The first one to preach against Catholic errors in *Sweden* was the gifted and zealous *Olaus Petri*. He was the son of a blacksmith in Örebro, and had studied at

Wittenberg at the beginning of Luther's great work. Upon his return to Sweden, in 1519, he was placed at the head of the chapter-school in Strängnäs, and at once began instructing in the truths of the Bible. He soon won to his side the archdeacon of Strängnäs, *Laurentius Andreæ*, and this energetic and clear-sighted man soon had an opportunity, at the elective diet of 1523, to make the king, Gustavus Vasa, more fully acquainted with the aims and purposes of the Reformation. With a clear and unsophisticated mind, the king was readily convinced of the truth of the new doctrine and saw, too, what temporal advantages a revolution in the Church would afford him and the kingdom. Shortly afterwards he promoted both of these reformers, appointing Laurentius Andreæ as his secretary and later as chancellor, and Olaus Petri as preacher in the large St. Nicholas' Church in Stockholm.

At first, however, the king proceeded very cautiously, lest he should arouse the people, who were ignorant and might easily be led astray. He would not admit that a new faith was introduced, but that the old was simply cleansed from papal errors. He opened the way for all to the source of truth by publishing a Swedish version of the New Testament, in 1526. The whole Bible was published in Swedish through the efforts of archbishop Laurentius Petri, in 1541.

The Diet of Vesterås in 1527 was a decisive event in the history of the Swedish Reformation. The two most important resolutions adopted there were *that the Word of God should be preached in its purity throughout the land* and *that the King and not the Pope was to be the highest authority in the Swedish Church.* From this time forth the Reformation proceeded slowly but surely. A church council met in Örebro in 1529 to regulate the affairs of the Church. As

a guide to the new church service and other ministerial acts Olaus Petri published a *Church-Book* in 1529, and the Swedish *Missal* in 1531. It was at this time, 1531, that Sweden received her *first evangelical archbishop* in the person of Laurentius Petri, a calm and firm man, brother of Olaus Petri. This office he held for 42 years and was a pillar of strength in the Swedish Reformation. To his other services he added the publication of a new Church constitution, which was adopted in 1572, and became the first Lutheran church-law in Sweden.

Under Gustavus Vasa and Erik XIV., the Reformation developed in a comparatively quiet and peaceful manner. But under John III., the Catholic reaction, which was now in full force in southern Europe, reached with its influence even to Sweden. King John, who through his Catholic queen came in close touch with Catholicism, felt it his duty, when he had ascended the throne, to restore the unity of the Church by bringing it back to the position it held at the close of the controversial period. To this end he published a new liturgy, the so-called "Red Book" to be used at divine service. In this liturgy many Catholic practices were enjoined and it also contained touches of questionable Catholic doctrines. An effort was also made to restore the connection with the Pope. But this was soon abandoned, for the Pope would make no concessions, and the attempt met with general disapproval throughout the kingdom. In regard to his liturgy, however, John was unyielding, and such ministers as would not conform to his orders were deposed and banished.

At this juncture Duke Charles appeared in defence of the true doctrine. He offered his duchy as a place of refuge to the persecuted. And when, upon the king's death, he held the reigns of the government for a time

as regent, he summoned a *Church Council at Uppsala* in 1593. Here it was unanimously decreed *that the Bible is the sole rule of faith, and that its doctrines are correctly set forth in the three Symbols and the unaltered Augsburg Confession.* King John's liturgy was then abolished, and the church service and polity established by Gustavus I. were once more restored.

By the Council of Uppsala the Swedish Reformation was completed. The reaction under John was not an unmixed evil. It had this good result that it led both clergy and people to realize what an inestimable treasure they had in God's pure Word. With true ardor they now embraced the pure doctrine, and defended it against every effort of King Sigismund and the Catholics to restore by cunning and force the Roman Catholic Church. The same enthusiasm inspired the Swedish people to follow their Hero king, Gustavus Adolphus, when he went forth as the defender of the Protestant faith in Europe.

Here, too, the king as summus episcopus stood at the head of the church government. Unlike Germany the Scandinavian lands retained the episcopate, although it was not considered essential to the Church. In Sweden and Finland the chapter still continued side by side with the bishops with the privilege of sharing with him the government of the diocese.

Laurentius Andreæ was perhaps the most prominent of the Swedish reformers. Of his early life little is known. It is, however, certain that he studied at Uppsala, Rostock, and Leipzig, and that he received the master's degree at the latter place. It is also known that he spent some time in Rome. In 1520 we find him as archdeacon in Strängnäs. He was then a man of mature years and experience.

About this time Olaus Petri returned from Wittenberg, and from him Andreæ obtained more definite information about Luther's

work, of which he had no doubt already heard many rumors. During the time immediately after the Massacre of Stockholm, in which the bishop of Strängnäs lost his life, the government of that diocese was practically in the hands of Andreæ, and under his care and protection the seeds of the Reformation were enabled to germinate and spring up in Swedish soil. At the elective diet of Strängnäs, in 1523, king Gustavus formed the acquaintance of this gifted man. He acquainted the king more closely with the Lutheran doctrines, and inspired him with the idea that by crushing the hierarchy he might build up his own power and by the secularization of superfluous church property he might increase his own resources as well as those of the crown.

In a short time he was made archdeacon also of Uppsala and became the king's secretary and counselor. As such he faithfully assisted the king during the following years in the reorganization of both political and ecclesiastical affairs. Side by side the two patriots struggled for the independence of Sweden in all departments. Andreæ further originated many of the king's measures and in a masterful way wrote the king's letters and other documents and discharged the duties of chancellor. He always accompanied the king on his journeys, assisted him at meetings and in negotiations with foreign powers, and stood faithfully by him in the administration of justice.

In church matters his influence was especially powerful. It was he who prepared the king's propositions at the memorable diet of Vesterås (1527). At the Church council of Örebro (1529) he presided, and the decisions of the council no doubt followed his plan. Here the resolutions of Vesterås were confirmed and further efforts were made to advance the reformation in a conservative spirit. For Laurentius Andreæ desired moderation lest too great offense should be offered to the inherited customs of the people.

Whether the translation of the New Testament into Swedish, published in 1526, in many respects a work of great merit, was made by him, or whether Olaus Petri with the help of his brother and others accomplished it is not yet clear. But it seems certain that it was published at his instigation and with his assistance.

Notwithstanding the moderation observed in the establishment of this new order of things, Laurentius Andreæ soon had to encounter the bitter hate of the Catholic prelates and the enraged masses incited by the monks. For a time the king stood faithfully

by him. Gradually, however, the intimate friendship between the two great men began to wane and, on the part of the king, it was finally changed into enmity. The chief cause of the changed relation between them was their different views as to the methods of carrying out the Reformation. The king seemed to lay the chief stress upon the secularization of church property and in this matter he went much farther than Andreæ thought proper. Neither did he work for the improvement in education with the zeal that his secretary desired. He also seemed to aim at making himself absolute even in church matters, while his secretary, on the other hand, wished to secure for the church a certain amount of freedom and independence.

After the year 1530 the rupture became more pronounced. Finally near the close of 1539 Laurentius Andreæ and Olaus Petri were accused of high treason. The indictment, a tissue of unsustained charges, bitter invectives, and more or less successful efforts at ridicule, was most probably written by von Pyhy, a German who for some time exerted a most baneful influence upon the king. On new year's eve the two reformers were brought to trial. Such undue haste prevailed that the accused were not given time to learn the nature of the accusation nor to make a written reply. By January 2, 1540, the court, in which the archbishop Laurentius Petri among others was a judge, was ready to pronounce the sentence of death.

The king, however, did not wish to carry matters to such lengths, but contented himself with the infliction of heavy fines. The aged Laurentius Andreæ lost all he had and lived the rest of his days in poverty and obscurity in Strängnäs, where he died in 1552. Thus was one of Sweden's noblest sons rewarded by his contemporaries. A more impartial posterity has learned to make a truer estimate of the man and to honor his memory.

Olaus Petri was born, in 1493, in Örebro. His parents appear to have been in good circumstances so that the young Olaus could without hindrance follow his inclination to study. At first he attended the instruction in the school of his native place and afterwards, in all probability, in the University of Uppsala. He next went to Wittenberg in Germany where he took the bachelor's degree in 1516 and the master's in 1518. He became a devoted disciple of Martin Luther and was an eye-witness of the great reformer's first efforts. He no doubt also attended for a time the lectures of Philip

Melanchthon. In 1519 he returned to Sweden and became a secretary under bishop Matthias of Strängnäs. The following year he was consecrated a deacon and placed in charge of the school in the city.

With great courage he now began to proclaim to fellow teachers and students the new doctrines he had learned at Wittenberg, and

Olaus Petri.

an evangelical party was soon formed at Strängnäs, which attracted attention even beyond the limits of the diocese. The domineering bishop Brask of Linköping prepared to crush this rising "Lutheran heresy", but he could accomplish nothing as the "heretics" were placed under the protection of king Gustavus.

Upon the king's recommendation Olaus Petri was appointed city clerk of Stockholm in 1524. This position he held for seven years. At the same time he burned with zeal to proclaim the Word of God and the evangelical doctrines to the people. He preached with great success in the large church of Stockholm, but at the same time aroused a bitter opposition among the adherents of the old faith. This bitterness was increased by his marriage the year after his arrival in the city. He was, it is true, not ordained a priest, but the law of celibacy war regarded as applicable also to the deacons.

During the following years, he developed a restless energy as a champion of the new ideas. In a number of popular tracts he attacked the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church. He was also ready at all times to defend his faith in oral debate. His disputation with the learned Uppsala canon Peder Galle, at the diet of Vesterås 1527, is well known.

But he was not satisfied with merely tearing down the old fabric. From the year 1527 he was busily engaged in preparing for the Swedish Church a new liturgy and good doctrinal literature. Besides the church-book and the missal, he published a small hymnal, and a postil which is still read by many people in certain parts of Sweden. And in addition to this, he no doubt took an active part in the translation of the Bible into Swedish.

For a short time, during the early part of the decade 1530—40, he served as chancellor, but soon returned to his literary pursuits. This versatile genius now appeared as an excellent historian. In his *Swedish Chronicle* he proves himself a thorough investigator, with the courage to uncover the truth even when it might give serious offense to those in power.

Like Laurentius Andreæ, though somewhat later, he fell into the king's disfavor, and was like him condemned to death, but afterwards pardoned. He held the same views as Andreæ with regard to the king's methods of carrying out the reformation. The king was further displeased with his *Chronicle*, whose liberty loving tone he did not like. He also aroused the king's resentment by his fearless denunciation of the king's faults, especially his habit of mingling profanity with his speech.

But the king did not harbor by far as great a hatred toward Olaus Petri as toward Laurentius Andreæ. The latter he meant to crush, the former simply to intimidate. But neither threat nor

promise made any impression on the bold reformer, who continued to preach as his conscience and conviction dictated. The king finally learned to put up with his corrections, and some years after the trial for treason he even promoted him as pastor of St. Nicholas' Church in Stockholm, and at times even sought his advice.

But the relation between them was never again the same as it had been at the first. Olaus Petri, however, did not allow this to interfere with his work, but continued to discharge the duties of his office faithfully and conscientiously to the time of his death, which occurred in 1552.

As Laurentius Andreæ labored for the Reformation in Sweden as the cool and calculating, but bold and energetic statesman so did Olaus Petri labor for the same as the fearless preacher and teacher, struggling with tongue and pen against ignorance and superstition for the evangelical education of the masses. His style is simple and direct, clear and convincing, and at the same time characterized by manly power and calm moderation. He was seldom seen excited. In his dealings with his opponents he distinguished between person and thing, a great merit at a time when hasty invectives and personal abuse seemed to belong to the order of the day. He always labored for greater humanity in all departments, as for instance in the treatment of prisoners, but never so as to defeat justice. He was a man of the people without being in any sense a demagogue. For a long time he regarded his calling simply as a lay preacher, and accepted ordination first in 1539. Neither did he attain any high honors in the Church, but through his writings and his labors as a reformer he has secured for himself an honored name in history.

Laurentius Petri was six years younger than his brother Olaus. Like his brother he had studied at Wittenberg and been a disciple of Luther and perhaps of Melanchthon. In 1531 he had already served for some time as head of the school in Uppsala.

In that year king Gustavus, setting aside the elective franchise of the chapter of Uppsala, summoned the bishops and more prominent clergy of Sweden to Stockholm for the purpose of choosing an archbishop. A large plurality of the votes were cast for Laurentius Petri, who was as yet comparatively little known. This was no doubt done at the king's instigation. He doubtless wanted an able, but at the same time mild and submissive man to fill the im-

portant position, and these qualities he thought to find in the young rector of the University. In this he was not mistaken. During more than forty years' service the new archbishop proved himself a capable man, and though the king materially restricted his powers there always existed, on the whole, a pleasant relation between them. Only when the king seemed to aim at making himself absolute in the Church did the archbishop remontrate, but he was given a strong rebuff and for the time at least yielded.

LAURENTIUS PETRI.

During the first ten years after his election we find him engaged in the translation of the Bible. Later, toward the close of the reign, he developed a more general literary activity. Among his works from this period we notice a postil and a Swedish history. Still later he appeared as a hymnologist.

During the reign of Erik XIV. he took an active part in various controversies. The king had had a certain French protestant as a teacher through whose influence he had acquired a preference for Calvinism, and during the first part of his reign he seemed to prefer that church. On this account the aged archbirhop published several controversial papers, in which his tone is not as temperate as his brother's had been, but at times even fierce and bitter. At first the controversy related to certain baptismal ceremonies which the Lutherans had retained, but the Reformed had rejected; such as the *abrenunciation*, or the renunciation by the sponsors on the part of the child of the devil and all his works, and the *exorcism* (§ 11). Both of these practices were de-

fended by the archbishop and were retained in the Swedish Church up to the opening of the nineteenth century.

Then followed a sharp controversy about the Lord's Supper, in which Laurentius Petri took a position in many respects approaching that of the Catholic Church. In other respects he was of course no friend of Catholicism. Even during the last year of his life he wrote three especially sharp papers against the Catholic Church and a Catholic priest, who staid at the Court of queen Catherine of Jagello, and who had made an attack upon his book on the regulations of the Swedish Church.

It is with a feeling of relief that we turn from these controversies to another phase of his comprehensive labors. He has left a lasting monument to his name in his *Church Regulations of 1571*, the result of hard labor, ripe experince, and devoted love to the Swedish Church. After several revisions it was given to the press in 1571, and was adopted at the church council at Uppsala the following year. It is especially suited to the times, holding in the main a middle course between the priest and the king power within the Church, between the Catholic and Reformed extremes in church ceremonies, and especially adapted to unite around it the Swedish people during this period of great disturbance. What especially does honor to the author is the great interest he manifests in Swedish culture. It contains the oldest school regulations of Sweden. The year following its adoption the universally esteemed archbishop passed away at the age of 74.

Laurentius Andreæ and Olaus Petri had powerfully assisted Gustavus Vasa in tearing down the Catholic Church in Sweden. It was left to Laurentius Petri to accomplisch the no less important mission of giving form and order to the Church which had well-nigh reached dissolution. In this work he manifested, in the course of years, greater and greater independence of the royal power to which he had at first perhaps been too subservient. Olaus was the warm-hearted, fearless reformer; the brother the learned theologian, the able administrator, the calm leader of the Swedish Church, who only in his controversial writings at times permitted a spirit of passion to control him.

In his private life Laurentius Petri was a shining example of pure and simple habits. In him we seek in vain for the pomp which generally characterized the Catholic archbishops. A large part of his income he devoted to the support of poor students. Through

his Bible translation, his interest in the promotion of education, his important and untiring labors for the Swedish evangelical church he earned for himself the gratitude and esteem of his own and all succeeding generations.

b. The Internal Development of the Lutheran Church.

1. *Doctrinal Controversies.* 1548–77.

78. **Conditions for the Controversies.** There arose very early in the Lutheran Church two opposite tendencies. The one was represented by the Philippists, so named after their chief leader, Philip Melanchthon. They labored to unite the divided Churches, and to attain this end they were ready to make concessions and accommodations to both the Catholic and the Reformed doctrines. The other tendency was represented by theologians who were ready at any cost to preserve the truths brought to light by Martin Luther. They were accordingly the strict Lutherans. Among their number were such men as Luther's friend Amsdorf and the renowned church historian Flacius Illyricus. The strict Lutherans had their headquarter at the University of Jena, founded by the sons of the Elector John Frederick. The Philippists had theirs at Wittenberg and Leipzig.

Flacius Illyricus is the most prominent representative of the controversial spirit which now began to manifest itself. He was a man of genius and great learning. Without respect to person he fought valiantly for the Lutheran faith, or what he regarded as the Lutheran faith, and dealt heavy blows at Catholics, Calvinists, Philippists, and others who appeared to him to depart from the true faith. How the Catholic Church had received a false and misdirected development he sought to show in the so-called *Centuries of Magdeburg*, a large historical work which he and a few other theologians published, and in which the fraudulent character of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (§ 42) was for the first time fully set forth.

Through his contentious spirit he caused himself many enemies and much suffering. He first held a professorship at Wittenberg which he was compelled to give up on account of his opposition to the "Interim". He then spent some time in Magdeburg. In 1557 he was appointed professor in the University of Jena, but during the synergistic controversy he was driven out together with those who sided with him (1561). From this time on he wandered about as a fugitive throughout Germany without finding any fixed place of abode. But neither poverty nor persecution nor loss of friends could crush his spirit. He remained the same unyielding champion of his convictions to his death, which occurred in 1575.

Besides the controversies mentioned below (§§ 79—81) Flacius also participated in the Osiander and the Majorist controversies.

In 1549 Osiander, a professor in the University of Königsberg, propounded the theory that justification does not consist in God's declaring man free from sin and its penalty through the merits of Christ, but in this that Christ with his righteousness takes up his abode in man, causing a quickening into life; that it is a healing act, a continuous infusion of God's righteousness into man's nature. Thus man was directed to build his hope of salvation not upon the perfect atonement wrought by Christ *for* him, but upon the ever incomplete work of sanctification *within* him.

Osiander's views aroused opposition from many quarters. Among his opponents was one Francis Stancarus of Mantua, who propounded a new subject of contention. While Osiander held that Christ had become our righteousness with respect to his divine nature, Stancarus maintained that Christ was our righteousness only with respect to his human nature. In opposition to this view the Lutheran theologians held that after the incarnation Christ wrought as the God-man, the one nature participating in the work of the other.

The Majorist Controversy concerned good works and their relation to man's salvation. The Philippist George Major expressed the thought that good works were necessary for salvation. Flacius Illyricus and Amsdorf on the other hand declared that they were injurious. Both parties expressed a truth, but each presented only a one-sided view. It is evident that good work must be found where there is true faith, but it would be a fatal mistake for any one to build his hope of salvation upon them.

79. **The Adiaphorist Controversy.** After the battle of Mühlberg the Emperor promulgated the so-called *Augsburg Interim*, a system of religious doctrine and practice, in which he required an almost complete return to Catholicism. The South German Protestants were compelled by imperial forces to accept it. It was left to the new Elector Maurice of Saxony to enforce it in North Germany. As he neither could nor would enforce it in its original form, he caused Melanchthon and a few other theologians to make a revision of it. This modified form, known as the *Leipzig Interim*, maintained in all essential points the Lutheran doctrine, but retained the Catholic forms and practices. This latter circumstance was defended on the ground that in matters of indifference (adiaphora) concessions could be made. The strict Lutherans, however, regarded it as disloyalty to the truth, and thus a controversy arose which was not put down till the religious peace of Augsburg (1555) had removed all cause of dissension.

80. **The Synergistic Controversy.** In the doctrine of sin and grace all the reformers followed St. Augustine, and like him taught an unconditional predestination. Luther never formally renounced this doctrine, but in his later devotional works he directs men to seek refuge in the universal grace of God in Christ. Melanchthon, on the other hand, soon realized the dangerous practical results of the doctrine of predestination. He gradually went too far in the opposite direction and shortly after Luther's death defined free-will as an ability to lay hold by its own impulse of the grace of God (facultas se ad gratiam applicandi). Some of his followers sought still further to develop their master's views, and in their zeal were led to emphasize the freedom of the will and man's accountability as against God's grace to such an extent

as to maintain that man has a natural power for good by which he is able, though in a weak and imperfect way, to co-operate with the Spirit of God in his conversion. Hence, they were called synergists (συνεργεῖν, to co-operate). Their opponents, however, went to an equally dangerous extreme. In order to emphasize more fully that to God alone belongs the honor of man's salvation, Flacius* taught that original sin is man's very essence and that man is converted against his will by an act of force on God's part. In this connection he developed the doctrine of predestination in a more rigid form than St. Augustine. To the more conservative minds, however, it became more and more evident, during the course of the controversy, that while man's conversion is the work of God alone, man is capable of resisting the divine grace, and, hence, his conversion is effected through freedom and not by force.

81. **The Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy.** The controversy begun by Luther and Zwingli regarding the Lord's Supper continued for a long time to disturb men's minds. It entered a new phase upon the appearence of John Calvin. There were many who thought that Calvin approached Luther's view so closely that the difference was rather one of words than of fact. Melanchthon now sought to facilitate the union with the Reformed by issuing a new edition of the Augsburg Confession, known as the *Altered Augsburg Confession* (Confessio Augustana Variata), in which the article on the Lord's Supper is expressed in such general terms as to include also Calvin's views (1540). This act was strongly condemned by most of the Lutherans. It was, however, some time before it became fully clear in what particulars the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper differed from the Lutheran. The first one to set this forth was a certain

* Flacius sinned apparently thereby ruined himself."

minister in Hamburg, Joachim Westphal, in a paper published by him in 1552. After this the Calvinists dared to present their doctrines in Lutheran lands only in a Lutheran garb. Thus there arose a veiled Calvinism (Crypto-Calvinism), which caused many unfortunate controversies. During these contentions several smaller German states fell away from the Lutheran faith and passed over to the Reformed Church. The most important of these was the Electoral Palatinate, which found in the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 its symbolical book. For a time it seemed as if Saxony would follow the example, but here the Lutheran faith finally triumphed (1574).

82. **The Formula of Concord.** In order to put an end to the controversies which had so long divided the Lutheran Church and occasioned so many persecutions, a number of the most prominent of the German theologians met in the cloister of Berg at Magdeburg and prepared a new form of confession for the Lutheran Church (1577). From its irenical purpose it was called the Formula of Concord. On the whole its authors understood how to preserve the truths which had been brought to light during the foregoing controversies. It was evident, however, that this formula could not satisfy all. Hence, new complications arose when the princes in the various Lutheran states demanded that their theologians and pastors should subscribe to the same. It was first printed in 1580 in the so-called Book of Concord, which contained all the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church, even the three symbols handed down from the ancient Church.

Never before or since has the interest in theological questions been as great as during this period. In these controversies the whole civilized world took a lively part. Even princes and statesmen

joined in them; some with real independence of thought and knowledge of facts, others again merely followed the one or the other theological leader.

In consequence of the religious intolerance of the times and the power of the princes in ecclesiastical matters these contests were fought out by outward force no less than by spiritual weapons. A few examples may be cited. In the Electoral Palatinate Frederick III., who had gone over to the Reformed faith, was succeeded by his Lutheran son Louis VI. (1576—1583). The people were then compelled to return to the Lutheran faith, and the Reformed pastors were driven out. This proceeding was repeated in the reverse order when his successor, Frederick IV., of the Reformed faith, ascended the throne. And later (1685) when the Palatinate fell to a Catholic line of princes the Protestants were sorely oppressed and compelled to emigrate.

In Saxony one Peucer, the physician to the Elector and son-in-law of Melanchthon, had served as leader of the Crypto-Calvinistic movement. After the Lutheran victory he was made to suffer a long imprisonment and his followers were exiled.

The Spirit of toleration was no stronger among the Reformed as may be seen from Calvin's treatment of Michael Servetus (§ 73). And yet, in spite of all this, the religious persecution among the Protestants is hardly to be mentioned in comparison with that instituted among the Catholics.

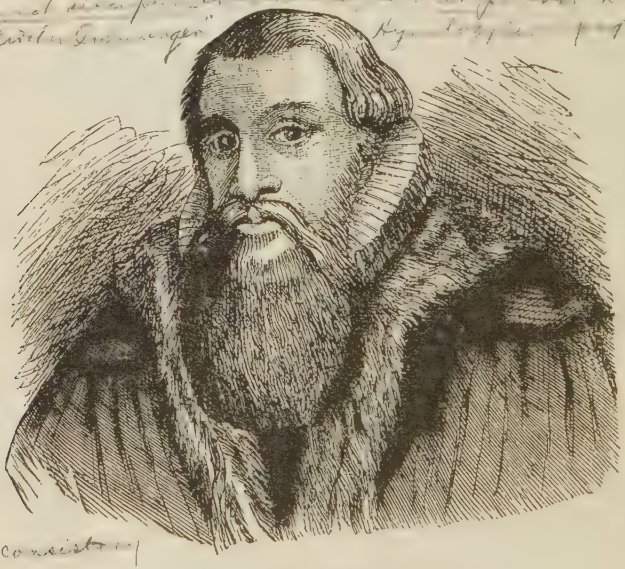
But over this dark picture a redeeming light is shed; for behind all this intolerance there was a religious earnestness which recognized in faith life's chiefest concern. At the same time the persecuted manifested a real heroism and, on the whole, patiently bore their sufferings without weakly yielding their conviction.

2. *Orthodoxy and Pietism.*

83. **Orthodoxy.** When the Lutheran Church had symbolically established its most important doctrines, earnest and successful efforts were made to apprehend and present the same in a scientific way and to define and differentiate them from all divergent views. There thus followed a flourishing period in Lutheran theology and especially in the field of dogmatics. A number of

celebrated theologians contributed to this result, and among them John Gerhard* (died 1637), a professor in the University of Jena, occupied the most prominent place, not only for his scientific precision and clearness, but also for his religious depth and earnestness.

The activities of the Church extended to all classes and conditions of men with the view of placing them



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under the influence and control of the true faith, and perhaps at no other time has society so generally clothed itself in Christian forms as during this period of orthodoxy in the Church.

But this orthodox Christianity contained within it seeds of various false tendencies. Faith was made rather a matter of intellectual acceptance of the doctrines of

the Church as true than of the heart's trustful devotion to God. Hence, there appeared in life more outward form and legal discipline than evangelical depth and fervency. The sermons contained little in the way of edification and consisted chiefly of dry dogmatic statements, which the people did not understand, and violent attacks upon opponents, which only served to arouse the passions.

In the meantime men were not wanting who labored for a more vital Christianity, nay rather, some of the most spiritual preachers and writers of the Lutheran Church appeared during this period. Foremost among these was John Arndt, superintendent general of Celle (died 1621). Several of his devotional works have been translated into various tongues, especially his "True Christianity". Next to him the best known are perhaps Henry Müller and Christian Scriver. Several renowned hymnologists also appeared, of whom the most celebrated is Paul Gerhardt, many of whose fervent, spiritual hymns have been translated into both English and Swedish.

In Sweden, too, there were many excellent men during the period, who were zealous both for pure doctrine and an earnest Christian life. To this class belonged the energetic bishop of Vesterås, Johannes Rudbeckius (died 1646), the founder of the first Swedish gymnasium, and also the two renowned Swedish hymnologists, Haqvin Spegel (died as archbishop in Uppsala 1714) and Jesper Svedberg (died as bishop of Skara 1735).

But notwithstanding the labors of these great men the one-sidedness of orthodoxy gradually gained the ascendancy, especially in Germany. Against it a powerful reaction was needed, and happily the Church had within it the life force to call it forth. Of less im-

portance were the protests that came from the Mysticism, the Theosophy, and the Syncretism of the period. More in accord with the Lutheran spirit and more deeply affecting the life of the Church was the deep religious movement known as Pietism.

The most beautiful trait in the Christian life of the period was the devout family spirit. This was a child of the Reformation, which had restored to marriage and to family life the honored place which God had in the beginning assigned to them. Through a correct presentation of the spiritual priesthood of the believer the reformers could emphasize the fact that each individual Christian had a right and a duty to come before God immediately with his sacrifice of prayer and obedience and receive instruction in the Word of God, and more especially that it is the duty of each householder as priest of his house to gather his family to a common worship in the reading of Scripture, prayer, and song. But it required more than one generation of training before the fathers were able to discharge this high duty. During the period of orthodoxy, however, this high aim had in general been attained. The day's work was then begun and ended with a common family worship. Grace was always said before meat and the return of thanks followed the meal. On Sunday afternoons the father gathered the family around him and read a portion of the Word of God or a sermon from some postil. Family and social occasions, as weddings, baptisms, etc. were opened by prayer and song. The holy communion was always preceded by fasting and prayer in the home. At the tolling of the bells mornings and evenings there was a cessation of work, and all engaged in silent prayer. Family worship became a bond of union among all the members of the family — parents, children, servants. They felt themselves united before God and this contributed toward an outward union. It must not be denied, however, that these pious excercises were often only outward forms, and, hence, the instances of brutality and coarseness often found side by side with this formal piety. We should give due credit to the good features of the period and at the same time not overlook the defects.

Haqvin Spegel was born in 1645 and was the son of a merchant in Ronneby, which then belonged to Denmark. The family was, however, originally Swedish. The boy early lost his father and mother,

but by the help of relatives he was enabled to pursue studies first at Lund and afterwards at various universities in other lands, especially in Germany. After his return home he became for a time private tutor to the celebrated Magnus Stenbock. In 1671 he received the master's degree from the new Univerity of Lund. He was ordained the same year and was shortly afterwards made court-chaplain to the queen-dowager. At the age of thirty he became first court-chaplain and confessor to the king and superintendent of the chaplains of the Swedish army.

In this capacity he stood in very close relation to Charles XI. during his whole campaign in Southern Sweden. That the young king developed during these years a spirit of deep and earnest piety was largely due to Haqvin Spegel's influence. The latter was present at the battle of Lund,and on the day following preached a powerful thanksgiving sermon in which he admonished all, high and low, to give God the honor of the victory and to extend a helping hand to the wounded, both friends and foes.

At the close of the war he was appointed superintendent of Gothland, a delicate position as the island had lately belonged to Denmark and the people had not yet learned to transfer their patriotism to Sweden. He was not permitted to remain here long, however, for he was soon appointed bishop of Skara, in 1689. Six years later he was transferred to the see of Linköping, and finally, in 1711, he was made archbishop by king Charles XII. All these positions he filled with earnest zeal, scrupulous faithfulness, and transcendent ability.

When Sweden tore herself loose from the papal power, the highest authority in the Church here as in other Lutheran lands fell to the ruling prince. But affairs were long in an unsettled state. As a rule the bishops assumed a somewhat independent position, and as a result there were great differences in government and cult in the various dioceses. The energetic Charles XI. sought to establish system and order even in this department, and during his reign the Swedish Church was given unity and uniformity and in many respects an excellent constitution, but at the same time it was made strongly dependent upon the royal authority.

In this work of organization Spegel took an active part. Through his efforts a clause was inserted into the church law, making it incumbent upon the clergy to see that the young were taught to read "so that they could see with their own eyes what God had directed and commanded in his Holy Word." Before this there was no law

requiring children to learn to read. The stern king took measures to enforce this regulation, and before long the ability to read was general among the younger generation. By this measure a long step had been taken toward popular education and culture, and the part Spegel took in this matter redounds to his lasting honor.

At this time there was felt a general need of a new hymnal. Jesper Svedberg especially devoted himself to this matter and wrote many excellent hymns. Spegel was his principal assistant. In the hymnal of 1695 are found no less than 38 of his hymns, besides several translations by him. In the hymn-book of 1819 by Wallin there are still retained a score of Spegel's hymns. Simple in language, biblical in tone and content, and of great poetic beauty they are still an ornament to the Swedish hymnal.

Even in the preparation of the Catechism published by bishop Olof Svebilius in 1689 Spegel had taken part. He was also the real leader in the new bible translation which was even then thought necessary. For certain reasons, however, it stopped at merely publishing a new and revised edition of the old translation, known as the *Church Bible* of Charles XII.

Besides hymns Spegel also wrote various other poetical works, among which "God's Work and Rest" is the best known. Of greater importance, however, is his Swedish Church History, the first work of its kind published in Swedish. For the care and purity of the Swedish language he labored together with Jesper Svedberg with great zeal. As a preacher he also held a prominent position not so much for his depth and originality of thought as for his simple, biblical, and heart-winning presentation of the truth.

He showed a remarkable liberality of thought with regard to the witch trials for which his times were so celebrated, and in which so many prominent men, laymen and clergy, manifested such gross superstition and cruelty.

In his private as in his public life he distinguished himself for gentleness and moderation. Kind and gentle by nature, he was ever ready to show his sympathy for the suffering in both word and deed. His ability brought him rapid promotion, his kindness and modesty secured him many friends.

As archbishop he was to serve during one of the most critical periods of Swedish history. The country was impoverished by long wars and reduced by famine. A restless and troubled spirit manifested itself especially at the diet of 1714, at which Spegel acted as spokesman for the clergy. Now as ever he showed a strong

leaning toward the royal power. This displeased a large number of the clergy, and a strained relation arose between him and a majority of his order. This struggle completely broke him down. He fell sick and was taken to Uppsala where after two months of wasting illness he did (1714). Posterity has recognized in him one of Sweden's most prominent archbishops.

84. **Mysticism and Theosophy.** In addition to that common mysticism which is found in all true Christianity and which has found beautiful expression in many devotional works, there was developed in the Lutheran Church that one-sided form of it usually understood by the term *Mysticism.* Its foremost representative was Caspar Schwenkfeld, a younger contemporary of Martin Luther. His followers, though often persecuted, have maintained themselves up to the present time.

His chief departure from the Lutheran doctrine consisted in giving to the inner Word of God's Spirit in man a place superior to the outward Word of God in Scripture, and in his conception of justification as a work within the believer, an incarnation of Christ in him, permeating him with the spirit of Christ until he becomes one with Christ.

While the mystic from the depths of his own spirit contemplates the mysteries of God, the theosophist in his meditations turns to external nature, seeking through these images of the supersensuous world to penetrate into the unfathomable depths of God. The earlier traces of theosophy were distorted by fantastical representations and gross superstition. It is presented in a purer form by Jacob Boehme, a shoemaker of Görlitz (died 1624). While his religious views were formed from a comprehensive knowledge of the Bible, yet they were not always scriptural. Little understood by his contemporaries, Boehme had but few followers. At a later

day his thoughts served to fructify German philosophy and also to give theological investigation impulses to a deeper penetration into the truths of Christianity.

85. **Syncretism.** Against the exaggerated zeal and contentious spirit of orthodoxy solitary voices were raised. On the part of the Lutherans it was George Calixtus, professor at Helmstadt (died 1656), who, following in the footsteps of the old Philippits, sought to lead the Christian denominations to peace and mutual forbearance. In the three symbols, common to all Christians, he recognized the essentials of Christianity. Hence, he was led to a certain extent to underestimate the importance of the truths which the Lutheran Reformation had brought to a clearer light than before. This became a vulnerable point against which the orthodox zealots, who were unable to appreciate the nobility of his purpose, directed their attacks with great violence. From the masses Calixtus received but little sympathy as was natural at a time when, during the great struggle of the Thirty Years' War, the hostility of the different churches reached its climax. Consequently he gained but few adherents, who together with their leader were stigmatized as *Syncretists*.

Two bishops in Sweden, Johannes Matthiæ in Strängnäs and Terserus in Åbo, expressed themselves in the same conciliatory spirit as Calixtus. Both were deposed, and the strict Lutheranism of Sweden was further strengthened by an act which gave the whole Book of Concord the force of a symbolical book for the Swedish Church.

86. **Pietism.** Against the inordinate zeal and dead faith of the one-sided orthodoxy of the times, there arose a religious movement known as *Pietism*. It traces its

origin to Philip Jacob Spener, who after successful labors as pastor in Frankfort-on-the-Main and in Dresden finally died as provost and member of the Consistory in Berlin, in 1705. He departed from the usual methods of orthodoxy and devoted himself to the preaching of the Word in a simple and practical way to the upbuilding of a Christian life. The older members of the congregation he sought to give a more thorough knowledge of the Bible by expounding the books of Holy Writ in their order; for the education of the younger members he used the method of catechisation, thus laying the foundation for our present system of catechetical instruction of catechumens. Some of his members began of their own accord to hold meetings for the furtherance of true piety (collegia pietatis). Spener himself took the lead in these meetings to prevent their misdirection and to use them as a means for arousing a Christian life, especially at a time when the public worship offered few opportunities for spiritual instruction. The condition of the Church he set forth in a work published in 1675 and known as "Pia Desideria", in which he also suggested such remedies for the evils as he had himself used with good success.

The movement started by Spener soon extended into wide circles. The most prominent accession to it was August Herman Francke, who labored for a long period of years as preacher and university professor at Halle up to his death in 1727. Through him Halle became the headquarters of Pietism, and at the university there, a large number of young men were educated who afterwards as pastors extended the Pietistic movement throughout all Lutheran Germany, and awakened a deeper spiritual life in the congregations.

A beautiful monument of pietistic labors of love and

mercy is the large institution for the education and care of orphan children established at Halle through the untiring labors, faith, and prayer of August Herman Francke.

Pietism has powerfully contributed towards the upbuilding of a Christian life and preserving it from the deadening effects of mere formalism. And yet from its very beginning it was characterized by a certain onesidedness, which gradually became more and more marked. 1) The Pietists were more zealous for a holy life than a firm and rooted faith, and, in consequence, laid stress on the Law and sanctification, while the Gospel of Christ's atonement and the doctrine of justification based on it were pushed into the background. Hence, they developed a legalistic form of life and an exaggerated code of morals, condemning not only such practices as lead to sin and temptation, as for instance the use of strong drink, card-playing, etc., but also children's games and innocent amusements. 2) They had a special liking for smaller gatherings for worship (conventicles), and developed a tendency toward separatism by forming smaller groups within the Church (ecclesiolæ in ecclesia). 3) Their zeal for a holy life led them to underrate the importance of pure doctrine and they were thus unconsciously led to play into the hands of rationalism.

August Herman Francke was born in Lübeck in 1663. He very early manifested an earnest childlike piety, and, hence, his father, a pious and able jurist, decided to have him study theology. His university studies, which he entered upon at Erfurt at the early age of fifteen, he afterwards continued at Kiel and Leipzig. At the last named place he became a tutor and with some companions organized the so-called *Collegium Philobiblicum*, which was at first designed for the scientific study of the Bible in the original text.

Through Spener's influence it soon received a more practical and devotional character.

During these years of study he departed from his childlike relation to the Lord, and felt himself, as he afterwards says, drawn hither and thither by anxieties for future support, by ambition and

AUGUST HERMAN FRANKE.

a desire to learn everything, and by a seeking after friends and popularity. At the same time he felt that it was not well with him and he longed for something better.

At the age of twenty-four he came to Lüneburg to pursue his study of the Bible still further under a celebrated teacher. Shortly after his arrival he was asked to preach a sermon. He consented to do so and chose for his text John 20: 31. As he began to study

his text he asked himself the question whether he himself had the faith which he was to preach to others. The more he thought upon it the more uncertain he became, and at last began to doubt whether he believed that there was a God or not. But at the same time his conscience was awakened.

"I then looked back", he afterwards writes, "upon my past life, as one might look out over a city from a high tower. At first I began to count my sins, but soon my eyes were opened to the fountain-head or source of them all, that is, my unbelief or false faith whereby I had so long deceived myself. Then I saw that all my past life, all that I had done and said and thought was a tissue of sin and an abomination before God."

He thus spent several days in great distress. One evening he fell upon his knees and called upon "the God whom he did not know nor as yet believe in for help in his terrible condition, in case there really was a God." His prayer was answered. As you turn a hand so his doubts vanished. He was fully assured of God's grace through Christ. He could think of God as his father and in his heart praise and bless him. A few days later he preached a sermon with great earnestness on the text which he had already chosen.

After spending some time in Hamburg and making a few months' visit in Dresden where he stopped at Spener's home and with him formed an intimate friendship, he returned once more to Leipzig. He now began to lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul to large audiences. He also infused new life into the collegium philobiblicum, and in general effected a deep spiritual awakening among the students. The one-sidedness and exaggeration of his less conservative followers gave the theological faculty, who no doubt felt jealous of the successful young teacher, occasion to forbid his bible lectures. Thus began the pietistic controversy, which so long disturbed the Lutheran Church and which was often conducted with intense passion. Francke himself engaged in the controversy only when compelled to do so, but always with calmness and good sense without, however, yielding what he regarded as right.

In 1690, after having spent some time at his home, he was called as pastor to Erfurt, where he labored for some time with untiring zeal and much success. But his opponents in Leipzig were active even here, and in the fall of the following year, without trial or conviction, he was deposed and driven from the city.

About this time the new University of Halle was founded, and upon Spener's recommendation Francke was called there as profes-

sor and appointed as pastor of a little congregation outside of the city. In the beginning of 1692 he departed for his new field of labor.

Here a large field was opened to him. As professor he exerted a powerful influence. Like his colleagues in the theological faculty, who were all animated by the same spirit as himself, he labored that the theological students might not only be equipped with the necessary knowledge, but also be trained as true Christians. "Whosoever does not use the Word of God", he would often say, "to the end that he may himself become a true Christian has no real benefit from it even though he were a master in the Scriptures." He also gave a number of lectures and discourses for the practical training of the students as preachers and pastors.

As pastor of a poor and ignorant congregation Francke had a further opportunity to do the Lord's work. Twice each Sunday and besides every Friday he preached. His sermons made a deep impression. And this was not strange. They were plain and simple in form. Bitterness against opponents, learning, and artistic finish were carefully avoided. On the other hand they contained earnest testimonies of man's sins and God's grace and powerful admonitions to a holy life. They were thus in the truest sense edifying. Their length did not tire the congregation at a time when people were less given to amusement than they are to-day. They have been published in several editions and like Francke's other works they have been a source of great blessing to the evangelical Church.

But Francke did not content himself with only preaching. He arranged daily prayer-meetings, first in his own house and later, when the numbers grew too large, in the Church, when he also introduced catechisation. Finally they were held twice a day, in the morning for the older people and in the afternoon for children and young people. Meetings were also held in private houses. Much stress was laid on visiting the sick. Great as was his capacity for work he was unable to attend to all these duties himself, but had to entrust part of his pastoral work to a like-minded assistant.

Francke believed, and therefore he spoke. But he proved his faith not only by words but also by deeds. We have a magnificent monument of his faith and love in his orphan home in Halle and the associated Franckean Institutions, which still exist. From a small beginning they grew with incredible rapidity and finally attained a surprising magnitude and compass.

They originated in this way. According to an old custom poor children gathered at Francke's home every Thursday to receive alms. Upon inquiry it was found that these children were in the highest degree ignorant. To secure the necessary means for removing this ignorance, as his own income was very insignificant, he placed in his reception room a collection-box for voluntary contributions. Above this box he put 1 John 3: 17 and under it 2 Cor. 9: 7. By and by he found 4½ thalers placed in the box. Taking this out he exclaimed, "This is a splendid capital. With it I will establish a poor-school." Books were bought and a student engaged as teacher. The school was first held in Francke's own house and afterwards in a rented house near by. The number of pupils grew apace. Before long the burghers sent their own children to the school and paid for their tuition.

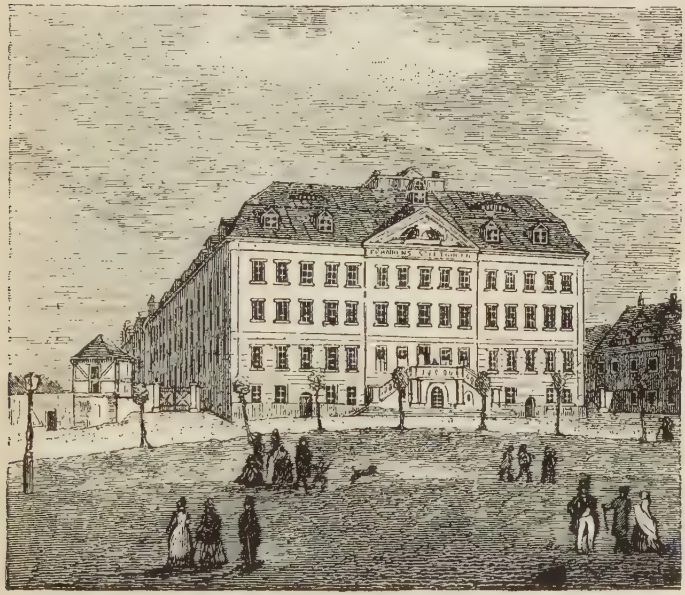
Francke was deeply interested in his school. In his younger days he had himself taught a primary school. In Leipzig he had given lectures on methods of teaching, and as pastor he had in his catechisation had further opportunities for practice in this art. Everything was arranged in a most prartical way and the cause was embraced by the public with an ever increasing confidence. One school arose after the other. Besides the poor-school and the burgher-school there were soon a pedagogium for boys of the higher ranks and a Latin school.

In 1698 Francke laid the foundation of a large building in which all of these schools were to be conducted. He had not collected the means beforehand, but trusted in the Lord for it, and he did not trust in vain. During the progress of the work he had many wonderful evidences of answer to prayer. Often the need was great, but the help was near. The poor gave their mites, the rich gave more abundantly, and even the higher classes made contributions. Within a few years the building was completed. On the front side Francke caused the following inscription to be made: "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles (Is. 40: 31)." On each side of the inscription was a picture of an eagle mounting upward toward the sun.

With this large institution a bookstore and a drugstore were connected and a little later there was added a school for missionaries who wereto be sent to the Danish possessions in East India. Then followed an institution for the spreading of the Bible, which still exists. Thus one building arose after another until the whole formed a little city by itself.

At the time of Francke's death (1727) there were enrolled in all 2,200 pupils, of whom 134 were orphans. Besides the 8 inspectors, 167 male and 8 female teachers were employed. The teachers were principally theological students who as pay for their work received free dinners and suppers.

Francke was a most prominent educator. He desired to give to training a practical character, and, hence, during recesses and



The Franckean Institution in Halle.

between hours he had the children engage in various handiwork. But like all human efforts his too were imperfect. His teachers lacked the necessary training. The pietistic one-sidedness manifested itself in the disproportionately large number of hours for religious instruction and in the length of the prayers with which the instruction was opened and closed. By strict discipline and gloomy seriousness a premature religion was to be infused into the children. This was apt in some cases to foster dullness, indifference,

and even hypocrisy. These defects became more marked after Francke's death, when mere forms were to accomplish what a great and warm-hearted personality alone can do.

But in spite of these peculiarities Francke must be counted as one of the very greatest men in the Lutheran Church. He was indeed a man of prayer and of faith which manifests itself in deeds of love. For the poor and the despised of this world he labored with wonderful self-denial. When he began his poor-school he abstained for a time from his evening meal for the benefit of the children. He died, as has already been remarked, in 1727. He belongs to the few whose names shall never die.

87. **Pietism and "Läseri" in Sweden.** The pietistic movement began to spread in Sweden during the reign of Charles XII. But it never developed a large following, partly because it was less called for, as orthodoxy never attained its worst features there, and partly because of the government opposition. By the so-called *Conventicle Act* of 1726 all private meetings for common devotion were forbidden under heavy penalties.

During the 18th century there arose in various parts of Sweden, especially in the north (Norrland), a movement closely allied to pietism and commonly known as *Läseri* (Reading). The *readers* like the *pietists* had a special liking for conventicles, but laid so much stress on pure doctrine that beside the Bible they scarcely dared to read any other works than Luther's.

3. *The Period of Illumination.*

88. **The Illumination in England and France.** During the 16th and 17th centuries scientific and philosophical investigation had rapidly advanced and prepared the way for a new philosophy of life. This was developed first in England. In religious matters it rejected all authority save that of reason and sought to build up a system of religion independent of revelation. Such a system appeared in Deism or Naturalism.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury (died 1648) has been called the Father of Deism. The only source of knowledge of the supersensuous world was to him reason and nature. From this source he deduced three supersensuous ideas: that there is a God, that the human soul is immortal, and that man must be virtuous to attain a state of bliss after death. In the Godhead there is but one person, the Father. Jesus of Nazareth was only a remarkable man. God created the world, but after the creation he has no immediate concern for it, but allows it to develop according to the natural law governing it.

Through gifted writers the deistic philosophy secured a larger public and passed from the British Isles to the Continent, where it gained numerous adherents in both the Catholic and the Protestant Church. In France it was proclaimed in a spirit of hostility to Christianity by the renowned writer Voltaire, 1778 who with the weapons of scorn and satire lashed the Catholic Church, and hoped "with ease to tear down what twelve poor fishermen had built up." Another author, Rousseau, 1778 formulated a sort of emotional deism as a religion for his nature-children, who were to grow up untouched by the unnatural customs and social institutions of the times.

The French Encyclopedists went still further in the same direction. They received their name from the circumstance that their leading men, as Diderot and d'Alembert, compiled an immense encyclopedia, which was designed to contain all the learning necessary for a most comprehensive education and a new philosophy of life. The Encyclopedists proclaimed a pure materialism. They denied every thing supersensuous, and represented selfishness as the only motive for human action and earthly happiness as man's highest goal.

89. **The Illumination in Germany.** The culture resulting from this intellectual activity was called *The Illumination*. It also entered Germany and there carried away a large majority of the educated classes. It is true that it did not there cause the same religious dissolution as in France, but it contributed in a high degree toward weakening the belief in revelation. It first advanced the theory that the Scriptures, indeed, contained a kernel of truth, but that this was enclosed in a mass of superstitious notions. With these superstitions even Christ and his Apostles mixed their doctrines, in order not to alienate from them their superstitious contemporaries (Semler's Theory of Accommodation). It was, therefore, necessary to subject the Scriptures to the fire of rational criticism that the true gold might be separated from the dross. But after this process nothing remained but the same meager contents that Deism had to offer. As this movement made reason (ratio) the highest authority in religious matters it was given the name of *Rationalism*.

The philosopher Kant, professor at the University of Königsberg (died 1804), brought rationalism to its climax and at the same time to the point of self-dissolution. According to him, the three supersensuous ideas, *God*, *Liberty* (as a prerequisite of virtue), and *Immortality* were not derived from divine revelation in Scripture, nor through deductions from nature, but were based upon the simple fact that man has a conscience. At the same time he declared that they belonged to a realm into which reason limited by sense could not penetrate. They could, therefore, not be demonstrated. They had to be accepted as practical postulates, for otherwise the unconditional commands of conscience would have no significance.

During the latter half of the 18th century rationalism held sway in the Lutheran Church. Under its control faith came near being extinguished and religion changed into a superficial system of ethics, valued according to its utility for this life. Divine service became superficial, the vigorous and spiritual prayers and psalms were exchanged for others, poor in both spiritual contents and poetic inspiration. From the pulpits were heard either pompous orations on the Supreme Being or dry moral discourses in a semi-Pelagian spirit. At times the congregations were treated to lectures on practical subjects, such as agriculture, gardening, etc. The religious decay was accompanied as usual by a spirit of levity and a laxity in morals.

But even rationalism had some good results. As a rule toleration was written upon its banner, and though this was the result of religious indifference, yet intolerance had to yield to the principles of religious freedom.

90. **Champions for a more positive Christianity** were, however, not wanting during this period. In the first place there were the so-called Bible Theologians, who following the example of J. A. Bengel (consistorial counselor in Stuttgart, died 1752), earnestly studied the Scriptures in order to gain a deeper insight into God's plan of salvation and a connected history of revelation. There were also men who labored in the spirit which prevailed during the best days of orthodoxy and pietism. A large number of those, however, who sought to maintain the Bible faith joined the school of super-naturalism, which, indeed, sought to defend the theory of supernatural revelation, but made too many concessions to rationalism. And finally the Herrnhuter community formed an im-

portant nursery for the preservation of the belief in Christ the crucified.

4. *The Nineteenth Century.*

91. **The Opposition to Rationalism.** Rationalism has, indeed, maintained itself even to the present day, but only through a constant struggle with an overpowering opposition, which has deprived it of control in the Church. This opposition has eminated from different sources.

a) The Romantic School (Hardenberg, the Schlegel brothers, et al.) was an esthetic-literary movement which tried to counteract the one-sided stress of the Illumination upon reason by presenting the sphere of the sensibilities and the imagination. But the leaders of this school often lost themselves in vague and shadowy notions, and as they were enthusiasts for mediæval ideals they had a predilection for the Catholic Church and to it two of them deserted.

b) German Philosophy after Kant sought a remedy for the superficial reasoning of rationalism in a more thorough scientific knowledge, and for the disposition to place a barrier between God and creation it advanced the theory that the force in the universe is God. But this was not a return to Christianity. It was only substituting pàtheism for deism. Neither had it set aside the principles of rationalism, for it too accepted human reason as the highest judge in religious matters. Many, it is true, thought that the philosopher Hegel (professor at the University of Berlin, died 1831), in his system had reached a full agreement with biblical Christianity, but this agreement was only apparent, as it was built upon a misinterpretation of Bible truths. This soon became evident. His followers carried the doctrines of

their master to their logical conclusion and landed at last in a denial of God and a deification of man.

c) Schleiermacher (professor at the University of Berlin, died 1834), finally wrested the scepter of theological learning from rationalism. "Religion", said he, "is not a knowing"—as rationalism would have it — "nor a willing"—as one-sided pietism had assumed — "but a feeling", a feeling of absolute dependence upon God. Theology presents the historical development of this feeling in the Church, and, hence, has an entirely different problem from that of philosophy, which only seeks the ultimate cause of all things. Schleiermacher's conception of religion was, however, exceedingly one-sided, and he did not restore to the Church biblical Christianity. The God revealed in the "feeling" was not according to his conception a personal being raised above all worlds, but rather, according to the pantheistic view, an impersonal force. Jesus of Nazareth

SCHLEIERMACHER.

was not "God revealed in the flesh", but only a perfectly sinless ideal-man.

d) The movements which most powerfully contributed toward freeing the Church from the sway of rationalism and reviving the Christian faith originated in a newly aroused interest in the confession of the Church, and, closely connected with it, a new religious awakening within the congregations. Both of these trace their beginning to the appearance of Claus Harms. The latter, a pastor of Kiel, on the occasion of the third centenary of the Reformation, in 1817, like a new Luther published 95 theses, in which he accuses his times of having fallen away from the doctrines of Luther and set up weak human reason on the throne of the Church as a new pope. From this time forth to the end of his life, in 1855, he labored with voice and pen for a more earnest Christian life and a more loyal devotion to the confession of the Church. Many theologians went still further in the direction in which he had struck out, and the controversies which arose in consequence of the efforts at union between the two Protestant Churches in Germany aroused a warm enthusiasm for the Lutheran faith. At the same time there occurred a deep spiritual awakening in the congregations, which made religion a matter of earnest heart concern to thousands of people. In the spirit of the old pietists, but with greater concern for pure doctrine, efforts were now made in behalf of practical Christianity. Special stress was laid upon reaching down to the lower strata of society, and many institutions arose for the prosecution of the Inner Mission work,* while at the same time powerful efforts were made to extend Christianity to the heathen world.

* Such for instance was Fliedner's Deaconess Institute at Kaiserswerth, which served as a model for many others in Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England, Russia, and other lands.

92. **Conditions of the Church in Sweden.** Rationalism spread also in Sweden and held sway in wide circles during the Gustavian Period, and yet it never succeeded here, to the same extent as in Germany, in pushing Bible faith into the background. The Church literature—the Book of Service (1811), the Lindblom Catechism (1810), the Hymn-Book (1819)—had, indeed, lost much of the vigor that characterized the earlier works, but they were far less diluted than the corresponding works in other lands. The best of all was the Hymn-Book, and the honor therefor belongs to the editor, the prominent hymnologist, J. O. Wallin (archbishop in Uppsala, died 1839). In the meantime efforts have recently been made to remove from these work the objectionable features introduced by rationalism. This has led to the issuing of a new catechism (1878) and to a revision of certain parts of the Book of Service. The proposition for a new hymnal is now under consideration. In this connection it may be mentioned that since the latter part of the 18th century a Bible commission has been engaged upon a new translation of the Bible. After more than a hundred years of labor the New Testament Version was reported to the Church Council of 1883. It was approved by the Council and adopted for use in churches and schools. In 1903 similar action was taken with regard to the Old Testament. With regard to public worship an important step was taken in 1860, when two new series of Scripture lessons were adopted to be used by turns with the old gospel and epistle lessons as texts for sermons.

Efforts had long been made for the establishment of a central ecclesiastical office. This want was finally filled by the establishment of an ecclesiastical department. Church legislation has from ancient times been a

prerogative of the king and the diet. A third power has recently been added in the establishment of the Church Council in 1868. It meets every five years.

Sweden too was blessed during the 19th century with a comprehensive religious awakening. Already at the opening of the century, Henry Schartau (cathedral curate in Lund, died 1825) came forward in a biblical and confessional spirit against the prevailing skepticism and religious indifference. From that time there has been an ever increasing number of the clergy who have labored for a more earnest spiritual life in the congregations. Even laymen have taken an active part in this work. The most prominent among them is no doubt C. O. Rosenius (died 1868) of the Norrland pietists. The movement started by him and his associates has its chief center of activity in the Evangelical Fatherland Association (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen) which still continues its work for home and foreign missions in a loyal church spirit. Others have manifested separatist tendencies. They have opposed, to a certain extent, the doctrines of the Church, but more especially her cult and constitution, and united themselves into separate associations or congregations without formally withdrawing from the Church. During recent times several sects have found entrance, and some of them have under the protection of the *Dissenter-Act* of 1873 formed their own organizations and received recognition from the state.

Five bishoprics were established in Sweden during the early period of the Church there. They were Uppsala, Linköping, Skara, Strängnäs, and Vesterås. A little later Växjö became an episcopal see. After the peace of Roskilde, in 1658, by which the southern provinces of Sweden were ceded to her by Denmark, the bishopric of Lund was added. A few years later Göteborg, which had for some time had supeintendents, was erected into a bishopric, 1665.

Eastern Småland, Värmland, Gothland, and the provinces north of Helsingland had also for a time had superintendents until episcopal sees were established in Calmar 1678, in Carlstad, Visby, and Hernösand 1772. The diocese of Luleå was separated from that of Hernösand in 1904.

In the Chapter the bishop presides ex officio. His second is the dean wherever that office exists (in all the bishprics, except Hernösand and Visby). The members of the Chapter are further, in the university towns, the professors of theology, and in the other episcopal towns, the lectors (professors) in the local colleges (högre allmänna läroverk). Besides the Chapters, which are also called Consistories, there are two other similar bodies; the Consistory of Stockholm and the Royal Court-Consistory. In the former the archbishop presides ex officio, when he is present, otherwise the *pastor primarius* performs the duty. Other members are the Lutheran pastors of Stockholm. In the Court-Consistory the first court-chaplain presides. The members are certain court- and garrison-chaplains of Stockholm.

The members of the chapter and the clergy of the diocese are the electors in the choice of a bishop, and from the three candidates receiving the highest number of votes the king appoints the bishop. The archbishop is elected by the clergy of the archiepiscopal see (Uppsala) and all the chapters of the kingdom. The consistory of Stockholm exercises the same privileges as a chapter. Where the bishop is also vice-chancellor (Uppsala and Lund) the professors may also vote. The bishop in conjunction with the chapter exercises the diocesan government, ordains the ministers for the diocese, and superintends them in the discharge of their duties. Through visitations he learns the condition of the various congregations. The archbishop ordains the other bishops, but exercises no authority over them. They are wholly independent in their official capacities.

The dioceses are divided into *Contracts* (kontrakt) in each of which the bishop appoints a dean, or provost (prost) to assist him in the care of the contract. In each contract are several pastorates, each composed of one or more congregations. The care of the pastorates is laid in the hands of a pastor (kyrkoherde) who may be assisted by one or more curates or adjuncts. With regard to the manner of appointing pastors the pastorates are divided into consistorial, regal, and patronal pastorates. In the consistorial and regal pastorates the chapter nominates three candidates and from

them the voters of the pastorate may choose. The one who receives the highest number of votes in a consistorial pastorate then receives his commission from the chapter. In the regal pastorates, on the other hand, the king appoints, and he may name either one of the nominees or some one else, who may have applied directly to His Majesty. In both the consistorial and regal pastorates, however, the congregations have the right to call in a forth man to preach a trial sermon. In such a case the king always appoints, even in the former class, but he is there limited in his choice to one of the four who have preached trial sermons. To the patronal pastorates certain individuals call the pastor without consulting the wishes of the congregation.

The particular affairs of each congregation are considered and decided upon by the voting members in congregational meetings. A *church council* is appointed to assist the pastor or his representative in the care of the congregation and also a *school board* for the management of school matters.

As regards church legislation no serious difficulty arose from the fact that it was in the hands of the king and the diet as long as the members of the diet were required to be members of the Swedish Lutheran Church, and the clergy as a separate estate could exercise an influence in the actions of the diet. But new conditions have arisen. Dissenters have secured admission to seats in the diet, and the clergy as such are no longer represented there. Hence, it became necessary for the Church to secure in the *Church Council* an organization through which it could exercise an influence in ecclesiastical legislation and in which it could manage its own general affairs. The Council is composed of 60 members,* half clergymen and half laymen. Of the clergy 13 are members ex officio, namely, the 12 bishops and the pastor primarius; 4 are delegates from the theological faculties of Uppsala and Lund. The remaining 13 are elected one from each diocese and one from the city of Stockholm. The archbishop is ex officio president.

Education has advanced with giant strides during the 19th century. In the common school law of 1842 it was prescribed that each congregation should have at least one school. Since that time the schools have rapidly advanced both in number and excellency. Higher education, too, has made rapid progress thanks to the

* Since the establishment of Luleå as a separate diocese and until Calmar is united with Växjö, as has been decided, there are 64 members: 14 ex officio and 14 elected clerical delegates and 32 lay delegates.

liberality manifested for its support both by individuals and the state.

The parish catechisation still in use grew out of the house-visitation and Christian catechisation enjoined upon all pastors by the Church law of 1686. In 1743 they were established by a royal decree. Confirmation as a solemn close of the Christian instruction of the young was gradually introduced during the 18th century, but it was first legally established and ordered by the Book of Service of 1811.

P. FJELLSTEDT.

Many able men labored in the Swedish Church during the 18th and 19th centuries both for the development of doctrine and the upbuilding of a Christian life. Among them may be mentioned in the first place *Anders Norborg* (died 1767), whose postil has been a precious book of devotion to many. A powerful preacher of the divine law, of righteousness, and repentance was Lars Linderoth (died 1811), Samuel Ödman (died 1828) and Johan Henrik Thomander (died as bishop in Lund 1865) rendered great service to the Church, the former as head of the seminary in Uppsala and the latter as head of a similar institution in Lund. As an excellent hymnologist may be mentioned Frans Michael Franzén, bishop in Hernösand (died 1847).

During the 19th century a number of institutions arose designed to promote the cause of the Swedish Church. For this purpose Dr. P. Fjellstedt (§ 113) founded his school in Stockholm in 1856. It was removed to Uppsala in 1859 and still bears the name of the founder. Its aim is to educate pious and gifted young men for the ministry. From 1851 the Swedish Deaconess Institute in Stockholm dates its existence. Under the supervision of Dr. J. C. Bring

(1861—1898) it enjoyed a rapid and steady development which still continues. In hospital, poor-houses, orphan homes, and above all in the work of congregations large numbers of the "sisters" are employed. A Deacon Institute was established at Gäfle in 1898 and removed to the estate Sköndal immediately south of Stockholm in 1905. The "brothers" trained here are employed in poor-houses, hospitals, training schools, and the care of congregations.

C. THE REFORMED CHURCH.

93. **The Reformed Church in the Netherlands.** Among the liberty loving people of the Netherlands, where the Brethren of the Common Life had labored no less for true Christianity than for humanistic culture, the Reformation early secured a foot-hold. Before long the majority of the people in the northern provinces embraced the doctrines of John Calvin. A cruel persecution followed which even during the reign of Charles V. brought imprisonment and death to a large number of people. It raged with still greater fury during the reign of his son and successor Philip II. of Spain and the Netherlands. When the latter prince attempted to suppress even political freedom the oppressed people arose in defence of their religion and civil rights.

The Protestants had already united around a common confession in 1561. By the Union of Utrecht in 1579, they united still more closely for mutual aid and protection. With remarkable perseverance and success they afterwards maintained their position against the violence of the Spaniards, who were finally compelled to grant a twelve years' truce in 1609, and afterwards by the Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, to acknowledge the complete independence of the Protestant Netherlands, which then embraced about the same territory as the present Kingdom of Holland, or the Netherlands.

When the heroic struggle for Dutch independence was over differences in religious views led to a division among the Protestants themselves. Arminius, a professor at the University of Leyden, rejected Calvin's doctrine of predestination and advanced the doctrine of the freedom of the will in man's conversion. He had many followers who were known after him as *Arminians*. For political reasons Prince Maurice, the stadtholder of the Netherlands, opposed the Arminians and at the *Synod of Dort* (1618—19), to which nearly all the Reformed Churches had sent delegates, he succeeded in having their doctrines condemned. The Arminians then for a time formed a proscribed sect, but in 1630 they were granted religious freedom. At the same time the Netherlands opened their doors and offered a place of refuge to the persecuted of nearly every form of Christian belief, thus setting a shining example of religious toleration at a time when religious freedom was practically unknown in other lands.

94. **The Reformed Church in France.** Into France, too, the doctrines of the Reformation made an early entrance and secured numerous adherents, especially among the upper and educated classes. These Protestants, here known as Huguenots, were cruelly persecuted. But the persecutions only seemed to increase their numbers and to drive them into a closer union among themselves. Through the influence of Calvin, who from his headquarters at Geneva directed the reform movements in his native land, they organized themselves into congregations and at a *General Synod in Paris* in 1559, they adopted a common confession of faith.

The religious movement soon became involved in the political contentions which at this time so sorely afflicted France. Two celebrated families, the Bourbons

and the Guises, both connected with the royal house, contended with each other for the highest influence in the state. The Catholics gathered around the Guises, and the Bourbons sought their support among the Huguenots, who from this time became a political party. Thus arose the cruel Huguenot Wars of which general history gives an account. These wars were finally to be closed by the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1570, which guaranted to the Huguenots full religious freedom and, in the main, the same privileges as the Catholics. This peace was, however, shamelessly broken by the horrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572, when thousands of Huguenots were murdered in Paris. The example of Paris was followed by other cities throughout France, and untold numbers of Huguenots suffered death on account of their faith.

The war broke out afresh. A permanent peace was not secured before Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenots, had ascended the French throne. To attain this object he was at length compelled to abjure his faith and become a Catholic, but by the Edict of Nantes, in 1598, he guaranteed to his former co-religionists almost complete religious freedom, access to all secular offices and employments, and, for a time, possession of a number of fortified towns as pledges of good faith and places of refuge and defence.

After this the Huguenots enjoyed a period of peace until the days of Louis XIV. This haughty despot could not regard himself as absolute sovereign in his kingdom as long as two million of his subjects had a different religion from his own. It was, therefore, an easy matter for the Jesuits to induce him to revoke the Edict of Nantes (1685). This was the signal for a persecution which for its cruelty is unparalleled in history.

Many of the Huguenots now turned Catholics, but large numbers also showed themselves true heroes in the sufferings which they endured. Emigration was forbidden. But about fifty thousand families nevertheless succeeded in escaping from their fatherland, which thus lost a large part of its best, most cultivated and thrifty population.

After the death of Louis XIV., the persecution somewhat abated, but it was not wholly stopped until shortly before the Revolution, when the "illumination" had produced a greater toleration in matters of thought and opinion. The storms of the revolution shook even the Reformed Church in France. In 1802 it assumed, in a way, the position of a state church, as the state undertook to provide for its support and also claimed the right to exercise a certain supervision over its affairs.

Dissatisfied with the unwarranted meddling in the internal affairs of the Reformed Church on the part of the state, as well as with the rationalistic spirit which controlled it, large numbers left it in 1849, and under the lead of Frederick Monod established a French Reformed Free-Church, which for a time enjoyed great prosperity, but now seems to be in a decline.

The persecution of the Huguenots marks a dark page in French history. Even before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes efforts were made by promise or threat to induce the Huguenots to turn Catholics. Those who yielded were rewarded with gifts of money, while those who remained true to their faith were subjected to the quartering of rude soldiers, who with perfect impunity could resort to almost any acts of violence they pleased (the so-called Dragonnades). Relapse to Protestantism was visited with heavy penalties. But the sufferings of the Huguenots were greatly increased after the revocation of the Edict. The dragonnades then became absolutely unbearable. A few examples of their barbarities may be

cited. The rough soldiers would light a candle and hold it close to the face of their unhappy hosts until the beard, eye-brows, hair, and skin were scorched. At other times they would place live coals in the hands of their victims and compel them to hold them while they repeated the Lord's Prayer. When the poor sufferers in their agony repeated the prayer too fast they were required to begin over again and repeat it more slowly. Some were chained to the wall or hung by their hands to the ceiling and then cruelly tortured. They were trampled under foot, pricked with spurs, had hot water or other injurious liquids poured into their mouths. Some were tortured with sleeplessness as the soldiers took turns to sit by them night and day to keep them awake. No wonder that those who were less established in their faith sought to escape from these tortures by entering the "only saving Catholic Church." Flatterers praised Louis XIV. for these misdeeds as a new Constantine the Great. But the better Catholics were forced to admit that conversions brought about by such means were of little value.

In these dark pictures it is a redeeming feature to see that in spite of their sufferings the majority of the Huguenots remained true to their convictions. Their pastors were ordered to leave the country forthwith, but many remained in the forests and mountains to administer comfort and consolation to their suffering brethren. If they were found they were at once brought to the block or chained to the galleys. The same fate awaited the laymen who were found trying to flee the country. And yet by secret paths and through untold sufferings and privations immense numbers succeeded in making their escape.

Many beautiful traits of Christian charity were also revealed. The Protestant nations vied with one another in offering homes to the exiles. Most of them found refuge in England, Holland, and Germany, but some extended their flight to the Scandinavian lands, to America, and even to South Africa. As many of them were skilled laborers they contributed largely to the upbuilding of industries wherever they settled. Henceforth France was no longer the chief manufacturing country in Europe. Other lands arose to compete with her. The exiles also contributed to the spread of the French language and French customs which is one of the main reasons for the supremacy of French culture in Europe during the 18th century.

To France these persecutions brought spiritual and material ruin, which it has been difficult for her to repair. The French

Church had condescended to fight her battles with carnal instead of spiritual weapons, and she had at the same time drained herself of her best powers by the expulsion of the Jansenists (§ 107). Hence, she fell into a state of lethargy which laid her open to the inroads of advancing infidelity; and the sufferings she endured during the French Revolution she had caused herself by her religious persecutions.

95. **The Reformed Church in England.** In England too the Reformation spread early, and even here its adherents were subjected to cruel persecutions started by king Henry VIII. The latter had sought in a pamphlet to refute the doctrines of Luther and for these efforts the Pope rewarded him with the title of "Defender of the Faith." Shortly afterwards, however, a quarrel arose between them, as the Pope refused to grant the king's petition for a divorce. The king then broke all connection with Rome and made himself the head of the English Church. He did not mean, however, to renounce the Catholic faith, but continued as before to persecute the friends of the Reformation.

Upon the breach with Rome, Henry appointed Thomas Cranmer as archbishop of Canterbury. This weak but well meaning man was secretly devoted to the Reformation and did all he could to further its cause. On the death of Henry VIII., in 1547, when a Protestant regency was established during the minority of Henry's son, Edward VI., Cranmer threw off the mask and worked openly for the Reformation of the English Church. The work was soon checked, however, when upon the early death of Edward, his Catholic half-sister, Mary the Bloody, ascended the throne (1553). The fires of persecution were again started, and even Cranmer was burned at the stake (1556).

Fortunately Mary's reign was short (1553—1558). Her half-sister Elizabeth, who succeeded her on the

throne, soon placed herself on the side of Protestantism. At a synod in London, in 1562, the foundations were laid for a new church organization. A confession of faith was here adopted, the so-called *Thirty-nine Articles*, which in the main embraced the doctrinal views of Calvin, but with a milder form of predestination. In government, rites, and practices, however, it differed widely from Calvinism. The sovereign was recognized as head of the Church, and the office of bishop was retained as a divine institution, hence, the name *Episcopal Church.* The mother tongue was used in the services, but a large number of Catholic practices were retained. The divine service was more definitely prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, which was recognized as a symbolical book.

There were many Englishmen who were not satisfied with this reformation. They urged that all Catholic practices should be abolished and that the Church should govern itself by means of presbyteries and synods. They were accordingly consistent Calvinists. On account of their desire to purify the Church from all Catholic practices they were known as Puritans. The Puritans and others who would not accept the ordinances of the Established Church were commonly known as noncomformists. The government sought to suppress them by severe penalties, but this only seemed to increase their opposition. From the ranks of the Puritans came the Independents near the close of the 16th century. At a later date they were also known as Congregationalists. They played an important part in English history in the time of Oliver Cromwell. In their struggle for congregational independence they even rejected presbyteries and synods and insisted that each congre-

gation should be perfectly independent in the management of all church affairs.

Upon Elizabeth's death the English throne passed to the Scottish Stuarts, who thus united all Great Britain under one scepter. Several princes of this family had a secret leaning toward the Catholic Church. One of them, James II, openly espoused Catholicism. This was one of the main causes of the second English revolution which placed William of Orange on the English throne in 1689. On this occasion the Episcopal Church was made, in a true sense, the Established Church of England, but by a toleration act freedom of worship was granted to all Protestant Dissenters.

In Ireland too the Episcopal Church was established though most of the people adhered to the Catholic faith.

In more recent times there has been a great deal of agitation in the English Church. Through the influence of the dissenters some of her members began to labor for a more vital religion, laying less stress upon peculiarities of doctrine, government, and cult. They were known as *Low-Churchmen*. Opposed to them were the *High-Churchmen*, who laid special stress upon the peculiarities of the Episcopal Church. Then, too, the so-called *Ritualists* have urged an almost complete return to the Catholic cult. A movement hostile to Christianity has also developed during the last century on English soil in *Socialism*.

The originator of English socialism was the wealthy Scotch mill-owner Robert Owen. Moved with sympathy for the laboring classes in their poverty and distress, he sought to improve their condition. To secure this end he sought to substitute a system of co-operation for that of competition, which had reduced wages out of all proportion. He would accordingly make the laborers, in a sense, share-holders in the industry, each one receiving a share in

the profits corresponding to his labor. He attempted to carry out his ideas first in America and afterwards in England. For his warm interest in the welfare of the poor laborers he deserves full credit. But in his zeal to prepare for them earthly comforts he would rob them of their heavenly treasures. For his economic system he laid a purely materialistic basis. He rejected the belief in God and a future life. Religion was a myth and a harmful one, as it led men to seek the eternal treasures even at the expense of the temporal ones. Man's highest aim was to attain earthly happiness. This he could do only in an ideal socialistic state. In it there was to be no government in the usual sense, no private ownership of wealth, no family life. Instead there was to be a number of communities, some larger, some smaller, where labor was to be in common and the profits were to be divided according to need. The children were to be educated at public institutions, removed from all harmful civilization, where they could live into the socialistic idea of life.

It is evident that such a community is an impossibility. It is based on man's struggle for earthly happiness, which it would secure only through material sources. But when all higher aspirations in man are suppressed, and only his lower, his earth-born desires are developed, his only aim will be a selfish struggle to secure as much enjoyment for himself as he can. The natural result will be that each one will try to work as little and enjoy as much as possible, and this will result in divisions and quarrels. Furthermore, man does not live by bread alone. Mutual love, which thrives best under the protection of family life, is at least as necessary for earthly happiness as material well-being. This love would soon evaporate in a social community founded on selfishness. And all the inspiration and enthusiasm called forth by a struggle for an ideal, all the comfort which lies in the hope of bliss beyond the grave will be no more when the conviction has gained ground that God and the spirit of man are empty words.

The doctrines of socialism have found adherents also on the continent of Europe. In France they gave rise to *Communism*, which time and again has proved itself an enemy to a true social order. In Germany efforts have been made to unite all socialists into a great international confederation. In Russia *Nihilism* seeks to overthrow all established order. Only in an indirect way has socialism brought good results. It has led thinkers and statesmen

to study social problems and to seek means for improving the condition of the lower classes of society. The best means to this end is and ever will be that true Christian charity which seeks not its own good, but rather that of others.

96. **The Reformed Church in Scotland.** The Reformation in Scotland was established through the efforts of the resolute and determined reformer John Knox, who was a pupil of John Calvin. After many struggles the Protestant Church finally won a complete victory. A confession of a purely Calvinistic type was adopted in 1560, and the church was established with a simple worship and a Presbyterian form of government. In 1689, this Church was recognized as the State Church of Scotland.

There had been considerable dissatisfaction for a long time with the manner in which the state and certain landed proprietors exercised the so-called right of patronage. When the government refused to make reasonable changes in these matters large numbers withdrew from the Established Church and under the lead of the celebrated Dr. Thomas Chalmers organized the Free Church of Scotland in 1843. This church has since enjoyed great prosperity and embraces at present about one-third of the people of Scotland.

By right of patronage is meant the privilege enjoyed by certain landed proprietors of appointing ministers in parishes within which their lands were located.

It is from Scotland that the Evangelical Alliance traces its origin. It was organized in 1846 and aims at a closer union among all Evangelical Christians. It does not seek to remove confessional differences, but only to bring the Evangelical denominations into closer touch with one another and to know and recognize one another as brethren. Its aim is, therefore, the same as that of the Philippists and Syncretists in the early Lutheran Church, without, however, requiring the concessions and accommodations in doctrine that the earlier efforts did. The Alliance has met with much favor from the various Evangelical denominations in different lands.

Perhaps the most generally accepted part of its program is the observance of the week of prayer (the first week of the year), annually recommended by it.

97. **The Reformed Church in Germany.** A most important event for the Church in Germany was the defection of the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg to the Reformed Church in 1613. He realized, however, that he could not compel his Lutheran subjects to follow him in matters of faith. He, therefore, devoted his efforts toward effecting a union between the two Protestant Churches in his domains. His successors pursued the same policy. The movement was favored by the indifference for all definite confession fostered during the period of the illumination, and on the occasion of the celebration of the third centenary of the Reformation, in 1817, the foundation was actually laid for such a union. Thus arose the Evangelical Church of Prussia in which the Lutherans and the Reformed were to be united under a common church government, using a similar service, while each party might retain its own confession of faith. The union, however, brought many disadvantages especially to the Lutherans who remained faithful to their confession. Hence, many of them withdrew from the Evangelical State Church and organized separate Lutheran congregations which were afterwards (1845) granted religious freedom.

D. THE SECTS.

98. **The Anabaptists or Mennonites.** Menno Simonis, a Catholic priest, who had resigned his priest's office and had himself rebaptized, collected the scattered fragments of the Anabaptists and united them into an

organization whose members were known after him as Mennonites. They abandoned the fanatical extremes of the early Anabaptists and approached in doctrine very closely to the Reformed Church. Their most prominent pecularities are the following: 1) They reject infant baptism. 2) They insist that the Church shall be composed of only pure members, and its purity they seek to maintain by a strict church discipline. 3) They abstain from all military and civil service and from the taking of oaths as well as from all closer relations with the world as opposed to their calling as children of God. Their chief resort was Holland where they secured freedom of worship in 1626.

99. **The Socinians.** In Italy and other places certain persons arose, during the period of the Reformation, against the doctrine of the Trinity as being opposed to reason. Driven from home they fled to Poland, where the city of Racau became their chief center. An Italian exile, Faustus Socinus, developed their doctrines, which, shortly after his death, were briefly set forth in the Racovian Catechism, published in 1605. The confessors of this faith were known from its founder as Socinians. Upon the instigation of the Jesuits they were expelled from Poland in 1658. Since that time only scattered Socinian congregations have existed, mostly in Siebenbürgen.

The Socinian doctrines are a mixture of Rationalism, Dynamism, and Pelagianism. 1) The Bible is the only source of knowledge of saving truth, but it cannot contain any thing that is contrary to reason, and must, therefore, be understood in the light of reason. 2) The doctrine of the Trinity is contrary to reason and does not rest on a scriptural basis. In the Godhead there is but one person, the Father. The Son is only a man,

who was endowed with divine power for the purpose of preparing man's salvation, and for his obedience was raised to divine majesty. The Holy Ghost is only the power of God for sanctification. 3) There is no such thing as original sin, but only an inclination toward what is evil, derived from habit and imitation. By the exercise of his own will man attains to faith in the truth and is enabled to walk in the footsteps and after the commands of Christ. Through the intercession of Christ he then receives the forgiveness of sins and an inward power for continued sanctification.

99½. **The Arminians.** See § 93.

100. **The Baptists.** Near the beginning of the 17th century certain parties separated themselves from the English Independents and carried the doctrine of personal independence to its extreme point, urging that each individual should have a right not only to decide what Church he would join but also whether he would belong to any church or not. Hence, baptism, which should be by immersion, should not be administered to children, but only to adults. The adherents of these doctrines were known as *Baptists.* At a later date the Baptists split up into two parties, the one accepting and the other rejecting the doctrine of unconditional predestination. The former were known as Particular and the latter as General, or Free Will, Baptists. Within these divisions farther divisions have since occurred. Beyond England the Baptists have spread largely, especially in the United States. Lately they have spread also in various countries in Europe. They number a large following in Sweden, where, however, they have not availed themselves of the Dissenter Act and withdrawn from the Established Church. The Baptists have

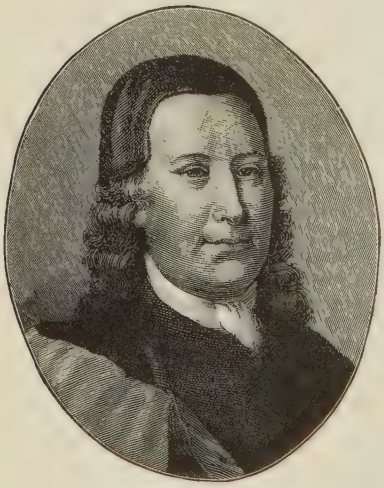
taken an active part in temperance work and in the missionary work among heathen nations.

101. **The Quakers.** During the internal struggles that distracted England near the middle of the 17th century a certain unlettered youth, named George Fox, came forward and preached against the prevalent formalism in the Church and sought to arouse a more spiritual religion. Many were carried away by his disconnected but fervent preaching, and soon a body of like-minded persons gathered around him. With these he effected an organization under the name of *The Society of Friends*, in 1649. The name *Quaker* was given them by their opponents as a term of reproach.

At first they were severely persecuted, and during their early fanaticism they often furnished the occasion for these persecutions by their absurd extravagances. Gradually they became more sober and moderate. Two prominent men exercised a wholesome influence upon the organization. One was the Scotchman Robert Barclay, who wrote a summary of their doctrines, the other was the celebrated William Penn, who devoted his large estate to the founding of a home for his people in the new world in the state named for him Pennsylvania (1682). Since 1689 the Quakers like so many other sects have enjoyed freedom of worship in England.

The following are the chief peculiarities of the Quakers: 1) They reject the means of grace and, after the manner of the mystics, they place the inner light of God's Spirit in the believer above the outer Word of God in Scripture. 2) Justification consists in the indwelling of Christ in the heart of man, taking form and shape there. 3) They disregard all outward church organization as mere show. They gather, however, on Sundays in some simple meeting place for common

devotion. Any one, man or woman, moved by the Spirit may then rise and exhort. But should no one be thus moved they will separate after awhile as quietly as they met. 4) Like the Mennonites they refuse to take oaths and to render military and civil service. They even disregard common courtesies, such as bowing to persons or raising the hat or using titles in addressing any one. Their dress is of a peculiar type and is not subject to the changes of fashion.



ZINZENDORF.

The Quakers have distinguised themselves by their struggles for religious liberty, the abolition of slavery, prison reforms (Elizabeth Fry), and similar philanthropic movements.

102. **The Herrnhuters.** A certain Count Zinzendorf,* who had received his training in the Franckean Establishment in Halle had offered a place of refuge to the Moravian Brethren and other Protestant refugees from Catholic persecutions on his estate of Bertelsdorf in Lusatia. Thus arose the Herrnhut Colony. Here he organized, in 1727, a new Brotherhood, which he would make into a "reservoir in which he might collect every little brooklet of living water, from which he might again water the whole world." From the name of the colony the members are also known as Herrnhuters. Zinzendorf had

himself consecrated as their bishop and labored with untiring zeal to the end of his life (1760) for the administration and development of the new Brotherhood. His successor Spangenberg developed their doctrinal views in a work known as "Idea Fidei Fratrum".

In doctrine the Herrnhuters, or Moravian Brethren, approach the Lutheran Church very closely and have, indeed, adopted the Augsburg Confession. A certain one-sidedness, however, manifests itself in their doctrinal views. Thus they emphasize almost exclusively the work of the *Son* in man's salvation, ignoring that of the *Father* and the *Holy Ghost.* In the work of the *Son*, again, they present especially his atoning death, which they regard less as a substitutionary satisfaction for the sin of the world than as a divine love-sacrifice. Hence, they preach almost exclusively the Gospel of God's love and seek in this way to call forth an answering love and gratitute in men's hearts.

Their worship is also adapted to arouse pious feeling. Their sweet music, their emotional hymns, their love feasts and the fraternal kiss, which they have adopted from the early Church, all tend in the same direction.

Their highest authority is exercised by the *Unity's Elders' Conference*, which has its seat at Herrnhut. The administration of the sacraments belongs to bishops and presbyters. Deacons and deaconesses are to minister to the sick and poor. The members of each local congregation are classified in groups according to age, rank, and sex, each under a leader, who exercises the spiritual care of the individual members.

The chief importance of the Herrnhuters lies in the fact that during periods of skepticism and indifference they have maintained the faith in the Crucified. In the work of foreign missions they have manifested greater

interest and made greater sacrifices than any other Christian denomination. Their efforts in this line have also been blessed with remarkable success. The number of members in their mission congregations to-day exceed many-fold the number of Herrnhuters in Christian lands.

The Brotherhood now consists of three provinces, the American, the British, and the German. In 1749 the British parliament recognized the Moravian Brethren as an episcopal church and encouraged their settlement in the North American colonies. They devoted themselves to mission work among the Indians with great success. The American province is divided into two districts, the northern and the southern. The former has its seat of government at Bethlehem, Pa., the latter at Salem, N. C. In the British province the seat of government is at Ockbrook in Derbyshire. Herrnhut continues as the seat of the German province and is also, as has already been mentioned, the seat of the Elders' Conference for the government of the whole Brotherhood. The Herrnhuters are not proselyters, but they carry on the so-called work of the Diaspora "which has for its object the evangelization of the state churches without proselyting their members." This work is carried on in the various German States, Switzerland, France, the Scandinavian countries, and in Russia. In Sweden there were, already during the 18th century men who labored in the spirit of the Herrnhuters. Among them the most celebrated is *Rutström* (died 1772), the author of "The New Zion's Songs." The Brethren never organized any separate congregations in Sweden, but have two small associations in Stockholm and Göteborg.

103. **Methodism.** In England the movement known as Methodism formed a counterpart to the pietistic movement within the Lutheran Church. The originator of the movement was John Wesley, a young student of Oxford who together with a number of like-minded young men formed a society for the promotion of a more spiritual life (1729). The members of the society were scornfully called Methodists by their companions as they were regarded as practicing their religion

according to certain methods. They were soon joined by a highly gifted young man, named George Whitefield, who shares with John Wesley the honor of founding the Methodist Church.

The Methodists soon began a zealous work both in England and America. They devoted their efforts especially to the neglected lower classes and contributed in a high degree to their religious and moral elevation. In 1739 they organized congregations of their own which, however, did not fully separate from the Established Church before the beginning of the American Revolution in 1775.

The Methodists hold to the confession of the Reformed Church, but have a peculiar conception of the work of grace. They hold that only those are truly converted who having passed through a serious struggle under conviction of sin have suddenly come to the assurance of sins forgiven and sonship with God, and that a person thus converted can attain even in this life to a state of sinless perfection. By exciting and terrifying sermons, supported by various outward means, they seek to arouse the sinner to a conviction of his sins, and by an earnest individual care they seek to preserve the new convert and lead him onward toward the attainment of perfect holiness.

The business affairs of the Methodist Church are conducted at the annual conference. The means of grace are administered by itinerant ministers. The individual members of the congregations are arranged in classes corresponding to the groups of the Herrnhuters, and like the latter, they have each a leader who exercises the spiritual care of the members of his class.

The Methodists were early divided into two divisions: the followers of Wesley, who rejected Calvin's doctrine

of election, and those of Whitefield, who retained it. The former are by far the more numerous. They have since formed other divisions. The most important branch is the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Methodists are found principally within the British Empire and in the United States. Among heathen nations they are carrying on an extensive mission work.

Out of Methodism has sprung a strange movement known as the *Salvation Army*, which has carried to the farthest extreme the method of using outward means for the conversion of men.

John Wesley and **George Whitefield**, the two founders of Methodism, were born near the beginning of the 18th century — the former in 1703 and the latter in 1714. John Wesley's father was a pious and most active clergyman in the Established Church. His mother, a woman of deep piety, high intellectual endowments, orderly habits, and faithful devotion to domestic duties, exercised a powerful influence upon her sons, not only during early years, but also afterwards. John, who became the most prominent of the sons, inherited both the father's and the mother's best qualities. In his seventeenth year he began his studies at Oxford. Having secured a good classical education, he devoted himself to the study of theology, and at the same time read most diligently works of devotion, especially that of Thomas a Kempis, "The Imitation of Christ." He began to lead a pious life, withdrew from the association of worldly companions, communed often at the Lord's table, and exercised himself in watching and prayer.

At the age of 22 he was ordained deacon, and after spending a few years at home as his father's assistant, during which time he received ordination as priest, he again returned to Oxford in 1729. Here he at once assumed the leadership of a small society organized by his younger brother Charles. The society at first numbered only four members. They met several evenings each week for devotional exercises, especially the reading of the New Testament. They soon extended their activities to visiting prisoners, administering relief to the suffering and poor, and instructing neglected children. They were called Methodists by way of reproach by their

enemies. They, however, afterwards accepted the name, which at the time was about synonymous with that of pietists. Their mode of life was severely ascetic. Their numbers gradually increased, and in 1733 George Whitefield, then 19 years of age, joined them.

The latter was the son of an innkeeper and had received a rather indifferent bringing up, and, in his early youth, sustained a less enviable reputation. But at the age of seventeen a thorough conversion took place within him, and a year after his arrival at Oxford he joined the Methodists, as has been mentioned.

Two years later Wesley sailed for Georgia for the purpose of converting the Indians. On the voyage he met a company of Herrnhuters. The calm humility with which they bore all abuse and injury heaped upon them and the fortitude with which they sang their songs in the midst of a raging storm awakened his surprise and admiration. On his arrival in Savannah he met Spangenberg (§ 102). When the latter asked him, "my brother, have you the witness of the Spirit that you are a child of God?" he was terrified and knew not what to answer. After laboring a few years as a preacher in Savannah — to the Indians he never went — he returned to England. Though his work in Georgia was not without good results still he says of it later, "I went to America to convert others and was not myself converted." Hitherto he had sought salvation through work and not by faith.

JOHN WESLEY.

He now spent some time in London and again met the Herrnhuters through whom he was brought to a still clearer light. Of his conversion he writes as follows: "In the evening (May 24, 1738) I went with a certain reluctance to a religious meeting, where was

read Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, at the description of the change wrought by God in the soul through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death. I at once began to pray for those who had persecuted me and despitefully used me. I then testified publicly before them all of what I now for the first time felt in my heart."

Ever since his first acquaintance with the Herrnhuters he desired to visit their headquarters. In the summer of 1738, he crossed over to Germany, met Count Zinzendorf, and spent several weeks at Herrnhut. He was deeply impressed by the Herrnhuters on account of their strong faith, their warm love of Christ and the brethren, their renunciation of the world, their simple habits, etc. But there were some things which he did not like, especially their neglect of fasts and other pious practices.

After his return to London he preached to large audiences but without any definite plan for his work. In the meantime, near the end of the year, Whitefield arrived in the city. He was now ordained deacon. He had spent some time in Georgia, but had returned to England to collect funds for an orphan home in Savannah.

The two men with others of like mind now entered upon a most comprehensive mission. Like a mighty stream Methodism spread over the land, arousing mind and heart and causing a powerful awakening. But opponents were not wanting. Hate and persecution followed. Wesley had no intention whatever of founding a new church or sect, but when the Established Church, long since paralyzed by formalism, opposed the new movement and shut its places of worship against its preachers, the latter were compelled to extend their work beyond the narrow limits of the Church. In this matter Whitefield took the lead. In February 1739, he held his first open-air meeting. The impression was overpowering. Many a hardened mind was softened and loud cries and sobs were heard on every hand. "God be praised", said Whitefield, "I have broken the ice. Men may revile me, but if I sought to please men, I would not be the servant of Christ."

Wesley soon followed his example. Immense multitudes gathered to hear him. The sermons were often interrupted by loud cries and throwing of stones and other missiles, but the fear-

less preachers continued their work. Many came out of curiosity, but large numbers were touched by the Word of God and and joined the movement in real earnest.

After having collected 2,530 pounds for his orphan home, Whitefield returned to Georgia. Wesley, however, continued his open-air preaching both in London and in the country districts. Even when at a later day chapels and churches had been built this field preaching was continued. In the opposition he met he only saw evidences that he was doing the Lord's work. "To save souls is my calling", he said, "and my parish is the world."

In 1741, when Whitefield returned from America, a division arose between him and Wesley, caused by their different views regarding the doctrine of predestination. From early years Wesley's mind and heart had rebelled against the doctrine of unconditional election. He now openly expressed his views. Whitefield on the other hand held tenaciously to Calvin's doctrine. In it alone he could find the key to the enigmas of life, and the seal of his own salvation. He regarded himself as a brand plucked out of the fire, and he felt fully convinced that only God's inscrutable and absolute will had done this. Thus the two leaders of Methodism separated. They were, however, reconciled to each other after a few years, but each one held to his own course. To-day there are but few Methodists who hold to the doctrine of predestination.

Whitefield afterwards divided his attention between England and America. Wherever he went he aroused the greatest enthusiasm. He is said to have preached in all 18,000 sermons. As a preacher he was unusually gifted. He had an unbounded power of invention, a glowing imagination, a powerful and melodious voice, and an inimitable play of features. These natural gifts he dedicated to the service of the Lord, and hardly seemed conscious of his own pre-eminence. He spoke from the fullness of his heart, and when in an almost tangible manner he pictured to his breathless listeners the glory of the upper kingdom he seemed to be lifted into a state of ecstasy, and the present material world seemed to disappear in the presence of the eternal. The learned and the unlearned, the believers and the unbelievers, were alike enchained by his oratory. He closed his richly blessed and useful life in America in 1770. His work contributed powerfully towards calling forth the so-called Low Church Party, which during the century just closed has played such an important part and aroused such life and activity within the Established Church.

Whitefield had no practical ability as a leader and organizer. Such matters he left to his friends. Wesley on the other hand possessed this ability in a high degree, and gave to the Methodist Church a remarkably strong organization. As has been remarked he was loth to separate from the Episcopal Church within which he had been born and brought up and ordained a priest. Step by step, however, he was driven to this separation by the hostile attitude of that Church.

As he did not have a sufficient number of ordained ministers he was obliged to make use of lay preachers. Toward the close of his life he ordained several persons to the ministry. The ministers and preachers were almost continually traveling as they could stay but a short time at each place, a circumstance which carried with it various advantages, but which perhaps entailed still greater disadvantages. The chief direction of the Church he exercised himself with great authority as long as he lived. He gathered about himself a number of intimate friends as an advisory body. Before his death he directed that the highest authority in the Church should be exercised by an annual conference of a hundred ministers, with self-perpetuating powers. Various changes in the government have since been made.

The congregations are divided into classes of a smaller number of persons, who were to meet once a week to pay their dues and report their spiritual condition to the class-leader. All members were subjected to severe discipline. This discipline was made more severe in the case of such members as had advanced further in the way of sanctification. They formed small societies within the congregation. An especially exemplary conduct was required of them; they were to abstain from the wearing of ornaments, the use of tobacco, and the like, and enjoined to keep every Friday as a fast-day.

Four times each year the members were all to meet for a love-feast at which only bread and water were to be served. The exercises consisted principally of prayer, song, and exhortation. Charles Wesley wrote many excellent hymns which made the Methodists like the Herrnhuters a singing people. Monthly watchnights were also held when half of the night was spent in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving. The novelty of the thing and the sacred stillness of the night seldom failed to make a powerful impression upon all minds.

The doctrine of sudden conversion, on which Wesley laid so much stress was substantiated by his own conversion and the

experience of many others, but it was a one-sided and even dangerous practice to make it a uniform rule for all and to try to force a conversion where there was no real contrition of heart. In such cases it became only a matter of momentary excitement. The Christian perfection to which each convert should advance by a constant progress in sanctification was according to Wesley not an absolute perfection. There was much weakness pertaining to even the perfect and many errors and mistakes could be done by him in matters not pertaining to his salvation. Furthermore Wesley taught that no one could be absolutely safe in this life from a relapse from grace and a state of perfection, and, hence, no one should feel secure or depend upon his own good works, but continually watch and pray and through the grace of Christ go forward in sanctification.

Wesley reached a high age and was always unceasingly active. Even in his 87th year he could preach twice a day. He is said to have preached more than twice as many sermons as Whitefield. The Church he founded numbered at his death, in 1791, about 120,000 members and about 500 preachers. A still more remarkable growth has since attended the Church, especially in America.

As a preacher Wesley differed much from Whitefield. His discourse was calm and direct; his voice was not strong, but remarkably clear; his sermons were short and simple; his presentation was logical and impressive through its very simplicity. In character he was thoroughly honest and straightforward, free from suspicion, and ingenuous as a child; hence, he was often imposed upon.

His great service was to arouse to life and activity many slumbering forces in the Evangelical Church, and to lead the way in the employment of laymen in the service of Christian charity. He may be regarded as the father of the so-called inner mission, the great humanitarian movement of the last century. In him we find the first thought of nearly all the philanthropic work which has since been carried out in England. He was also the first one to raise his voice against the evils of slavery.

104. **The Swedenborgians.** Emanuel Swedenborg (died 1772), son of bishop Jesper Svedberg, was already a distinguished scientist when he, in 1745, began to devote himself exclusively to theosophical speculations. He believed himself to be in communication with spirits,

who revealed to him the true relation between the material and the spiritual world; and the higher wisdom he thus obtained he presented in various works, the most important of which is his "True Christian Religion" (Vera Christiana Religio).

The fundamental principle in Swedenborg's system is the doctrine that there is a universal correspondence between the spiritual and the material world. To this fundamental doctrine he gives a thorough exposition, which may be summarized in the following points: 1) The Bible has a literal and a spiritual sense. The spiritual sense had in the course of time been lost and forgotten, but was now to be brought into full light by Swedenborg. 2) In the Godhead there is but one Person who has been revealed in Jesus of Nazareth. He is known as the *Father* with regard to his spiritual essence, as the *Son* with regard to his manifestation in the natural world, and as the *Holy Ghost* with regard to his work in man's sanctification. 3) Redemption consists in this that Christ through his triumph over the evil spirits and in the example of his holy life has given to men a powerful incentive to an earnest struggle against all evil. 4) There is no resurrection of the body, but the souls of men are immediately after death given spiritual bodies and become angels or evil spirits according as they have in life developed the good or the evil. There is no other world of angels. 5) In the future life there is a complete correspondence with the present life. What man desires and practices in this world he will desire and practice in the life to come. In heaven all earthly conditions will appear in a glorified form, while in hell all will be abhorrent and terrible as a symbol of the evil nature of the lost.

In England, where he spent much of his time in later

years, in Sweden and other lands he secured a number of adherents even during his life-time. It was not till after his death that a Swedenborgian congregation was organized in London (1787), which called itself the "New Jerusalem" or the "New Church". There are but few Swedenborgians in Sweden. They are more numerous in England and the United States.

105. **The Irvingites and Darbyites.** The Irvingites were named for Edward Irving, a Scotch-Presbyterian preacher in London (died 1834), who was deposed for heresy in 1832, after which he laid the foundation for a new religious organization. They claim to have received again the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. For the propagation of these gifts they have re-established the offices of Apostles and Prophets of the early Church. They lay special stress upon the study and interpretation of the apocalyptic prophecies of the second advent of Christ.

The Irvingites call their organization the Catholic Apostolic Church. They are now found in the British Isles, the United States, Canada, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, and other countries in Europe.

While the Irvingites lay great stress upon the outward organization of the Church and ecclesiastical offices, the Darbyites—named after their founder, John Darby, an Episcopal clergyman in Ireland—reject all outward organization. In their services they resemble the Quakers. From present conditions, which they regard as absolutely evil, they direct their hopes to the second coming of Christ, which they regard as near at hand. They have adherents in various countries of Europe and in the United States and Canada. They are also known as "Plymouth Brethren".

106. **The Mormons.** In the United States, where since the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, Church and State have been completely separated, the fullest possible religious freedom exists. Here are found nearly all the religious denominations of the world, and here too some new ones have originated. Among these the best known is the Mormon Church. It was founded by Joseph Smith, who in 1830 published an alleged ancient revelation, the "Book of Mormon", and began to gather adherents. They were persecuted and compelled to flee from place to place until after Smith's death they finally found a permanent home in Utah.

To the Bible and the Book of Mormon they attribute the same authority. By the side of these ancient document they place the new revelations proclaimed from time to time by their prophets. These proclamations are often inconsistent not only one with another, but also with the Bible and the Book of Mormon. Hence, it follows that the Mormon Church is in a state of constant change, and at present has little in common with Christianity. Admission to the Church is by baptism which is performed by immersion. Only persons who have attained to the age of understanding are baptized. Polygamy is a religious duty. The Mormons call themselves the Latter Day Saints and regard their Church as the beginning of the Millennium in which Christ, in bodily presence, will reign together with them over all the Earth.

The Mormons are zealously working through their missionaries to secure proselytes in the various countries in Europe and especially in Great Britain and the Scandinavian lands.

E. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

107. **Jansenism and the Jesuits.** Though the Roman Church, in the doctrine of sin and grace, had embraced Semi-Pelagianism she had never expressly renounced the views of St. Augustine. Even the Council of Trent had on this point employed such indefinite language as to include the views both of Thomists and Scotists (§ 55). The Dominicans still followed their great light, Thomas Aquinas, and defended St. Augustine, while the Franciscans with the Jesuits as zealous allies defended the opposite view.

The Dominicans were reinforced by the celebrated bishop of Ypres, Cornelius Jansenius, who had given a careful study to St. Augustine, and who left at the time of his death, in 1638, a learned presentation of his doctrine. This work opened the eyes of many to the falsity of the prevalent opinion regarding the meritorious nature of good works and gave rise to a movement for a moral and religious reform of the Roman Church. The adherents of this movement were known as Jansenists. The most distinguished among them were the great mathematician Pascal and Antoine Arnauld and his sister Angelica, abbess of the Cistercian cloister of Port Royal, near Paris, which through her became the center of this movement in France.

The Jesuits made a violent attack upon the Jansenists and succeeded in securing a papal bull condemning them in 1653. It was then that Blaise Pascal arose and in his "Provincial Letters" exposed the base moral principles of the Jesuits. With still greater vehemence the Jesuits now turned against him and his friends and finally succeeded in inducing the Pope and the French

king, to suppress and destroy the cloister of Port Royal in 1709.

The controversy soon entered a new phase. A pious and learned priest in Paris, Paschasius Quesnel, published a French translation of the New Testament, provided with notes in St. Augustine's spirit. It met with a wide circulation and was recommended by several prominent bishops. The Jesuits, however, feigned to have discovered various errors in it and succeeded in inducing the Pope to condemn several of its statements as heretical. Some of these statements were taken directly from St. Augustine. A large number of the French clergy opposed the Pope's decision and appealed to a general Church Council. They were known as appellants and were for a time sternly oppressed, but were afterwards granted greater liberties.

The real Jansenists were compelled to leave France. They withdrew to Holland, where they founded a Church which still exists.

Apparently the Jesuits had triumphed in this contest and deprived the Catholic Church of the opportunity for an inner regeneration, which had appeared in Jansenism; but they were soon to reap the reward of their labors. They lost the confidence of the better part of the people by their base morals; princes and statesmen they offended by their political intrigues; and soon the champions of the "illumination" appeared in arms against them. In consequence they were expelled from Portugal, in 1759, and afterwards from France and Spain. Finally the Pope was obliged to yield to the spirit of the times and the pressure of the governments and dissolve the order in 1773.

A prominent French divine during this period was

the mystical archbishop of Cambray, Fenelon (died 1715), whose writings are known and read even to-day.

Blaise Pascal, one of the greatest thinkers of the 17th century and one of the noblest sons of the Catholic Church in modern times, was descended from an eminent family in Auvergne, and was born in Clermont in 1623. At the age of eight he accompanied his father to Paris, whither the latter went for the special purpose of devoting himself wholly to the education of his gifted son. The father himself imparted instruction and used his own methods. The boy was first to acquire a thorough knowledge of the classical languages and then of mathematics. But it was just to mathematics that the boy's mind was bent, and the father was struck with amazement one day when the boy was in his twelfth year to find that he had secretly and unaided thought out and demonstrated the propositions 1—32 in Euclid's first book. He was now permitted to follow his inclinations freely. At the age of seventeen he published his first mathematical treatise, which attracted great attention. He also made various physical experiments and discoveries especially in the line of barometric pressure and the equilibrium of the pressure of liquids. He also invented a calculating machine, which, however, never came into practical use.

Blaise Pascal.

During the '40's the Pascal family entered into intimate relations with some Jansenist noblemen which had important results for the religious development of the young mathematician. At first, it is true, he seemed but little affected by it. His health, which had never been robust, had been undermined by the severe mental strain of his early life, and his physician advised him to seek diversion in the enjoyments of social life. He did so and for five years he led a superficial life in gay society. The serious impressions of his earlier years seemed gone, the sense of being a leader in the world of science filled his soul with pride — as is seen from the letter in which he offered Queen Christina of Sweden his calculating machine — and yet he could not refrain from feeling at times a great void and unrest in his soul.

In the meantime his father had died, and his younger sister, Jacqueline, who was like himself highly gifted, had entered the Cistercian cloister of Port Royal. She had long prayed for her brothor's conversion and her prayer was finally answered. The brother, who was still young, withdrew from the influence of the gay life in Paris and for a time took up his abode in a house belonging to the cloister (1654).

Here there was gradually formed a sort of free-monk association, composed of a number of pious and learned men. They devoted themselves especially to works of penance and devotional exercises, but engaged also in reading classical authors, translating the Bible and the writings of the church fathers, and the instruction of the young. Among them was the prominent Jansenist, Antoine Arnauld, whose pious and resolute sister Angelica was the abbess in the neighboring convent. Zealously devoted to St. Augustine's doctrine of sin and grace and fully determined to enforce in all their severity the ancient rules of the order, she had completely transformed conditions at the convent and effected a thorough reformation. In the excellent schools which arose at this time in connection with this convent, many of the most celebrated men of France received their training, among them the poet Racine.

Without assuming any monastic vows, Pascal subjected himself to the severest asceticism. With mathematical precision he calculated just how much food would be necessary for him to sustain life. He often fasted and wore next to his body a barbed chain. Whenever he had yielded to any emotion which he thought was sinful he would press the chain with his elbows that the increased pain might remind him more forcibly of his duty as a Christian.

About a year after his conversion, he began to take an active part in the controversy between the Jansenists and the Jesuits. In defence of Antoine Arnauld, who had been condemned by the Sorbonne, the celebrated theological school in Paris, he wrote his famous "Provincial Letters". He is not content, however, with merely defending the Jansenist view; he fearlessly attacks the whole Jesuitical system, especially the moral code. The principles which he attacks and which the Jesuits as confessors enforced were chiefly the following:

1) An act could be declared permissible even though the Word of God condemned it as sinful if a single church authority could be quoted in its defence (Probabilism). 2) Sinful deeds might be permitted if one only had a good purpose in view and used them as a means to a good end. 3) Falsehoods might be allowed if one only made a silent or mental reservation. Thus for instance a man could testify under oath that he had not done a certain thing which, however, he had done, if he would only make the silent reservation to himself that he had not done it *on a certain day*, or *before he was born*, or something of that kind.

What made Pascal's letter all the more striking was the fact that in many instances he represents a Jesuit conversing with a disciple and in his unguarded utterances pronounces the judgment himself upon the shameless system. The style is at first witty and sarcastic, the tone sprightly and playful, then the author proceeds in a calm and clear way to prove his statements. As a whole these letters constitute a powerful protest against the spiritual tyranny of the Jesuits, and an eloquent expression of the deep resentment of the Jesuits' code felt by many an earnest Catholic. From a literary point of view they are real masterpieces.

The Provincial Letters attracted unheard of attention. They were circulated by thousands and thousands, and were read by high and low, although they were at once prohibited and afterwards condemned by the Pope. The writer could not be reached, for no one knew who he was. They were written over an assumed name. Though the Jesuits gained an apparent victory over the talented defender of Jansenism, yet in the public esteem they suffered a defeat from which they have never recovered. Even in Catholic lands the term Jesuit has since then had an unpleasant ring.

From the time of his conversion Pascal had planned to write an apologetical work in order to win souls for Christianity. It resulted,

however, only in detached thoughts and outlines on the essence of Christianity. A selection of these fragments was published after his death under the title of *Pensées sur la religion.* In these *thoughts,* so rich in flashes of genius, he manifests a deep religious feeling, a sincere faith, and a remarkable knowledge of the human heart.

He points out among other things that man's true greatness consists in his acknowledgement of his misery. This misery is an indication of the greatness of man's nature. It is the misery of a deposed monarch.

The *Thoughts* of Pascal have served as comfort, strength, and consolation to unnumbered multitudes of men.

From the year 1656 Pascal spent most of his time in Paris, always practicing the severest asceticism. His latter years were embittered by intense bodily sufferings and by the hard blows dealt the convent of Port Royal and its adherents by the Pope and the French King at the instigation of the Jesuits. Deeply affected by the death of his sister, Jacqueline, known for her devotion and Christian fortitude, he survived her less than a year, and died August 19, 1662.

Notwithstanding the many truly evangelical thoughts in his writings, and though his "letters" were condemned by the Church authorities, nevertheless Pascal remained loyal to the Catholic Church. He rises far above that Church, however, in his advocacy of religious freedom, his holding the Bible as the only rule in matters of faith, and his glorification of divine grace.

108. **The Church and State.** Ever since the latter part of the Middle Ages the civil powers had sought to throw off the guardianship of the Church and afterwards to secure control over her. These efforts reached their climax in the 18th century when attempts were made to make the churches in the various lands independent of the Pope. In Germany the Emperor Joseph II (1780—1790) took the lead in these efforts. He severed the church connection with Rome in all his hereditary lands, and then in the spirit of the "illumination" he sought to transform the monasteries and the churches and make

them more fruithful for temporal good. He was, however, too radical in his efforts and did not consult the religious scruples of his subjects. The result was a sudden reaction after his death, and Austria fell back under the authority of the Pope. A few ecclesiastical electors attempted to follow the example of the Emperor and establish a Catholic National Church of Germany, but their efforts led to no practical results. The Catholic Church was, however, greatly weakened when, during the Napoleonic Wars, nearly all the ecclesiastical states in Germany were secularized and divided among the temporal princes by way of indemnity for losses.

Most radical of all were the changes wrought in France. The Revolution overthrew the existing order in both Church and State at the same time. The National Assembly confiscated all the church property to the state (1789), and the National Convention abolished Christianity and inaugurated the Worship of Reason (1793). But there was soon a return to more rational conditions. By a Concordat with the Pope in 1801, the French Church was assured of protection and support from the State. But by this measure the Church became dependent upon the civil power in a manner which greatly reduced the authority of the Pope.

109. **The Catholic Church during the Nineteenth Century.** After the fall of Napoleon, the Pope began to work earnestly for the restoration of the Catholic Church and the extension of his own power. The Congress of Vienna (1814—1815) had besides other duties also that of regulating the affairs of the Church, but in this particular they did not by any means satisfy the demands of the Pope. The latter then sought by other means to gain the desired end. The order of Jesuits, restored in 1814, began to work in its old spirit but with more

caution. The Pope was also supported by a reactionary party (Ultramontanists), who saw in the restoration of Mediæval conditions the surest remedy for the evils with which the revolutionists threatened both Church and State. In this way he has succeeded in materially increasing his ecclesiastical authority, and at the Vatican Council in 1870, Pius IX. was even able to force through the decree that the Pope is infallible when speaking ex cathedra on questions of faith and morals. Nearly the entire Catholic Church accepted the decree. Only a small number protested against it and urged that the Church Councils should retain their ancient significance and that greater independence should be accorded the bishops. They called themselves "Old Catholics", separated from the Papal Church, and formed an organization of their own. They seem to be open to evangelical influences.

But the Pope who had pushed his official authority to a point which his predecessors had sought in vain to reach had the humiliation of seeing himself deprived of nearly all temporal power. The last remnant of the Papal States was incorporated with the kingdom of Italy in 1870. Since that time the Pope, in spite of all his protests, is sovereign ruler only in the Palace of the Vatican and an adjacent, insignificant part of the city of Rome.

F. THE GREEK CHURCH.

110. **The Conditions of the Greek Church in general.** From the time of its separation from the Roman Church to the present day the Greek Church has remained in a stagnant or retrogressive state. Only rarely have

efforts been made to infuse new life into her deadened forms. The most important of these efforts were made by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople. During his travels and residence in the West he had acquired a higher theological culture and formed a strong liking for the Reformed Church. Having attained the highest position in the Church, he made efforts to effect a union between his own and the Reformed Church. But he met with opposition from the Greek clergy, and the Jesuits, ever on the alert, aroused against him the suspicion of the Sultan, who finally caused him to be put to death in 1638.

On the part of Rome successful encroachments were made upon the territory of the Greek Church. Many Greek Catholics were induced to accept the Roman doctrines and government, but retained their Greek ritual. They were known as *United Greeks.*

To defend their Church against such influences and to preserve her peculiar position, many Greek theologians now began to urge the necessity of a special confession. Such a confession, written by the metropolitan Mogila of Kiev, was also adopted at a synod of Constantinople in 1643.

In doctrine the Greek Church closely approaches the Roman. They both embrace semi-Pelagianism and hold to the doctrine of transubstantiation. It differs from the Roman Church principally in rejecting the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as that of indulgences and it administers the communion in both kinds. It has a rich ceremonial liturgy which, toward the close of the Middle Ages, supplanted the sermon. This liturgy, however, differs widely from that developed in the Western Church. Celibacy is enjoined upon monks and the higher clergy,

while the lower clergy are required to marry. But remarriage is forbidden. When a clergyman becomes a widower he must lay down his office and enter a monastery.

Cyril Lucar, one of the few great men in the Greek Church in Modern times, was born in Crete (then belonging to Venice) about the year 1572. During his early years he spent much of his time in Italy, in Venice and Padua, and there acquired a thorough knowledge of both classical and modern languages. Led by a love of learning and a desire to know something about the condition in the various churches he made a tour through a number of the European countries. He spent some time in Geneva and finally arrived in Lithuania, where he participated in the negotiations going on between the Protestants and Greek and Roman Catholics. During these travels he formed a stronger and stronger liking for Protestantism, especially its Calvinistic form, while at the same time his hostility to the Papacy increased more and more.

After his return home he was ordained a priest and raised to the dignity of superior abbot (archimandrite). In 1602 he was made Patriarch of Alexandria. During the following years he maintained a close literary relation with the West. He saw very well that the Eastern Church needed a regeneration and this he hoped could be brought about through Protestant learning and theology. He, accordingly, secured a large number of theological works of Protestant authors, and sent out gifted Greek youths to be educated in Protestant schools. He kept up a correspondence with prominent men in Switzerland, Holland, and England and even with Gustavus Adolphus and Axel Oxenstjerna. In this connection it may be mentioned that he presented Charles I. of England, in 1628, with the *Codex Alexandrinus,* the celebrated manuscript of the Bible now preserved in the British Museum.

In 1621 he was raised to the highest dignity in the Greek Church as Patriarch of Constantinople. In this capacity he had, however, the greatest difficulties to contend with. His own people were disunited and wavering. The Turkish government, despotic and indifferent regarding the interests of the Christian Church, only sought by the most shameless Simony to secure as much money as possible in the appointments to high ecclesiastical offices. The ever watchful Jesuits had even in Alexandria caused him much trouble.

Supported by the French ambassador in Constantinople they now labored incessantly for his destruction. They saw in him a dangerous enemy to their Church. His only real friends were the English and Dutch ambassadors at the Turkish Court.

Through the instigation of the Jesuits he was deposed by the grand vizier time and again and as often restored to his office through the influence of the ambassadors mentioned. The Greeks in Constantinople had as yet no printing-press of their own. Now, however, one was secured, but was almost immediately destroyed by Turkish soldiers. The Jesuits had persuaded the grand vizier that the object of the press was to spread insurrectionary literature among the subjugated Cossacks.

But Lucar was not to be deterred. He published in Geneva a work in which he sets forth his confession, based upon the faith of the Ancient Church and in all essentials agreeing with Calvinism. In matters of government and worship he also desired a union with the Reformed on the basis of a return to the institutions of the Early Church.

This confession called forth the admiration of some and the bitterest hatred of others. And now the Jesuits finally succeeded in crushing him. When, in 1638, the Persian War broke out they persuaded the Sultan that Lucar was a dangerous man, who, when the soldiers were withdrawn, intended to stir up the Cossacks. The aged Patriarch was seized by the janizaries, was rowed out in a boat and strangled, and his body cast into the sea. Some friends afterwards found the body and buried it on an island. Ten years later it was removed to Constantinople and buried with great solemnity.

The radical method by which Lucar had sought to reform the Greek Church called forth after his death a violent reaction, which showed how little this Church was prepared for a spiritual regeneration.

111. **The Greek Church in various Lands.** The separation of the Russian Church from the Patriarchal see of Constantinople began in 1589, when she received her own patriarchate at Moscow. Complete independence was not secured, however, before Peter the Great declared himself the supreme head of the Russian Church in 1702. A few years later (1721) a new office, the

so-called *Holy Synod*, was established through which the Czar directs the affairs of the Church.

A number of sects have arisen in Russia, differing from the Established Church principally in liturgical matters.

After the liberation of Greece a church constitution was established there closely resembling the Russian.

The Greek Church in the Turkish lands is governed by the Patriarch of Constantinople who is assisted by a Holy Synod of eight metropolitans.

Among those who have separated from the Russian Church the *Raskolniki* (apostates) are the most numerous. They call themselves Starowerzi or Old Believers. The occasion for the separation was a certain revision of the liturgy made by the Patriarch Nikon of Moscow about the middle of th 17th century. The most important points in which they differ from the State Church are the following: 1) In the celebration of the Eucharist they consecrate seven instead of five loaves. 2) At funerals they carry the incense after and not before the corpse. 3) At baptisms they perform the procession from south to north, from left to right and not in the opposite directions. 4) At the close of the three *hallelujahs* they add *Praised be the Lord.* 5) They pronounce the name Jesus Isus. They also abstain from the use of tobacco and all intoxicants and still retain their ancient costumes. They now enjoy freedom of worship. They are divided into two divisions: the *Popovtsi* who retain the priesthood and the *Bezpopovtsi* who entrust the administering of the sacraments to laymen.

G. RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN AMERICA.

112. **Conditions during Colonial Times.** America is essentially the child of the Reformation. On the very threshold of that great event the Western Continent was discovered. The first churches established in the

New World were, however, not of the Protestant faith. As Spain took possession of the southern part of North America and nearly all of South America the Catholic Church was established throughout all these regions, and remains to this day the predominant Church there. In its cult, however, it is far below the level of the Catholic Church in Europe and the United States. Sunk in the grossest ignorance and superstition it can scarcely be classed as a Christian religion in many places.

The French Huguenots under the lead of Admiral Coligny attempted to establish colonies in South Carolina and Florida, but their efforts failed. The first successful French colonies were made by the French Catholics in the St. Lawrence Valley and along the Great Lakes. They were principally of the nature of military, trading, and missionary posts. The chief missionaries belonged to the order of Jesuits. The French held this region as well as the Mississippi Valley until 1763, when the whole territory fell to the English.

Between the Spanish Catholics in the south and the French Catholics in the north was a large territory which was eventually to be filled with English colonies. At the time of the American Revolution there were thirteen of them. Here Protestantism prevailed almost exclusively. In the five southern colonies the Episcopal Church was established and supported by the government, while other denominations enjoyed freedom of worship.

In the New England colonies the Congregational Church prevailed. Each town was compelled to support a church by local taxation. As other denominations arose the law was modified so that the tax paid went to the support of the church to which the tax-payer belonged. If the dissenter did not belong to any organized

church his tax went to the regular Congregational Church of the town.

In the Middle colonies the population was less homogeneous and a greater variety of religious beliefs existed. New York and New Jersey were originally settled by the Dutch. Among them were a few Lutherans, but the great mass of them belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. When they finally fell under the English the Episcopal Church was favored by the the government. Pennsylvania and Delaware were first settled by Swedish Lutherans, but they eventually fell under England and to William Penn and the Quakers. Freedom of worship was established and soon large numbers of German Lutherans settled especially in Pennsylvania.

The mountain regions from New England to Georgia became the home of immense numbers of Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.

113. **Separation of Church and State.** At the time of the establishment of American Independence there was some religious test in every state in the Union. In 1785 the Episcopal Church was disestablished in Virginia and full religious liberty and equality secured to all alike. This principle was incorporated in the Federal Constitution and gradually carried out in all the states. The last remnant of state control in church matters was abolished in Massachusetts in 1833.

While a complete separation of Church and State thus exists in the United States, and all religions not inconsistent with good order, justice, and morality enjoy equal privileges, the Christian religion has so wrought itself into all our institutions that justices of the supreme court and the supreme courts of the various states have held that Christianity is a part of the common law of the land.

Though there are in the United States over one hundred different religious denominations, nine-tenths of all the members are included in the following eight denominations, named in order of numbers: Roman Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans,* Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists.

114. **The Roman Catholic Church.** At the opening of our national history there were but few Roman Catholics in the United States outside of Maryland and Pennsylvania. They were all under the care of the Vicar Apostolic of London. In 1789 the Catholic Church in America was given a separate existence by the establishment of an episcopal see in Baltimore. John Carroll, a native of Maryland but educated in France, was appointed the first American bishop. He was consecrated in London the following year. In 1791 he held the first synod of the Catholic clergy in the United States. The Reign of Terror in France sent to America a large number of able and devoted bishops and priests who helped to build up the Church in the new republic. Immigration from Ireland rapidly increased the Catholic population and it was found necessary to establish new bishoprics. In 1808 Baltimore became a metropolitan see and Bishop Carroll became the first American archbishop. At the same time new sees were established in Boston, New York, and Bardstown, Ky. Philadelphia was added in 1809, and others have since been added from time to time. In 1852 the first Plenary or National Council assembled in Baltimore. There were then present 6 archbishops and 23 bishops. It condemned secret societies, especially Free Masonry. It also condemned the public school system, where children of all denomina-

* For the history of the Lutheran Church in America see the following chapter.

tions are received and no instruction given in religion. The second Plenary Council was held in 1866 and the third in 1884, both in Baltimore. In 1875 Archbishop John McCloskey of New York, the successor of the celebrated Bishop John Hughes, was appointed the first American Cardinal by Pope Pius IX.

In 1889 the Church celebrated the first centenary of the establishment of the See of Baltimore, the founding of the American Catholic hierarchy. This was followed by the Congress of Catholic Laymen at Washington. The work of this congress was concluded by the founding of the Catholic University of Washington.

The Roman Catholic Church in the United States, like every other branch of the Church, is under the control of Rome, the papal curia being the court of final appeal. The decisions of the Plenary Council when sanctioned by the Pope become the the highest administrative norm of the Church. The whole territory is divided into provinces, the provinces into dioceses, the dioceses into parishes and missions. At the head of each province is an archbishop, who presides in the provincial synod. In each diocese is a bishop, who appoints the pastors for the parishes and missions.

The Catholic Church in the United States now numbers about 10,000,000 members. This phenominal growth is due principally to the large foreign immigration during the last century, first from Ireland, and during the last part of the century, more especially from Italy and Austro-Hungarian lands.

115. **The Methodist Episcopal Church.** The two founders of Methodism, John Wesley and George Whitefield, were the first to preach Methodism in America, but they organized no churches or societies here. The nucleus of the first Methodist Church in America was formed in New York by immigrants from Ireland who had belonged to Wesley's societies. They were organized into a class in 1766 and were led by Philip Embury, a local preacher from Ireland. He was assisted in this work by an officer in the British army, named Thomas Webb,

who had been licensed to preach by John Wesley. During 1768 Webb established classes on Long Island and in New Jersey, Delaware, and Philadelphia. At the same time a chapel was built in New York and two years later (1770) the first Methodist church in America was erected in Philadelphia. While Embury and Webb were laboring in New York and vicinity another local preacher from Ireland, Robert Strawbridge, began preaching and organizing classes in Baltimore and other places in Maryland. At about the same time Robert Williams from England introduced Methodism into Virginia and North Carolina.

In 1771 Francis Asbury was sent over as superintendent of the American societies. After two years he was superseded by an older minister, Thomas Rankin, who upon his arrival summoned the first Methodist conference in America. It met in Philadelphia in 1773. There were then ten preachers and 1,160 members.

After the close of the Revolutionary War it became evident to Wesley that a separation from the Church of England and the establishment of an independent American Church was a necessity. He accordingly consecrated the Rev. Thomas Coke as bishop of the American Church and sent him to America with instructions to consecrate Francis Asbury as joint bishop. On his arrival in 1784 a general conference attended by 60 ministers was held in Baltimore. The Methodist Church was now formally organized. It adopted the episcopal form of government and a creed consisting of Twenty-Five Articles, and composed by Wesley. It also adopted as its official name, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

Under the lead of Bishop Asbury the Methodist Church now became the most aggressive of the American

churches. The Great West, the Mississippi Valley, was opened up, and settlements were made far in advance of churches and organized society. Here was a great field for itinerant preachers and "circuit riders". Rationalism and French infidelity had largely tainted the upper layers of society while great ignorance and coarseness prevailed among the lower classes. A religious awakening was greatly needed. In this work, especially among the lower classes, as well as in all reform movements the Methodist Church took the lead. It introduced the modern Sunday School into America (1786); it established a Book Concern for the publication of religious literature (1789); it took advanced ground on the temperance question, and declared openly against the evils of slavery.

A number of schisms have occurred within the Church from time to time, resulting in separate organizations. The most important of these was that of 1845 on the subject of slavery, when the "Methodist Episcopal Church, South" was organized. This division still exists.

The sole legislative body of the Methodist Episcopal Church is the General Conference. Prior to 1872 it was composed exclusively of clerical delegates. Lay representation was then introduced. It meets every forth year on the first of May. It is presided over by the bishops. Besides its legislative functions it elects bishops, missionary and educational secretaries, and editors of its periodicals. It is also the court of final appeal. The lower judicatory and administrative bodies are the judicial conference, the annual conference, the district conference, and the quarterly conference.

116. **The Baptists.** The first Baptist church in America was founded by Roger Williams in Rhode Island. Churches were gradually established in other places, as for instance in Boston (1665), Charleston, S.C., (1683), Philadelphia (1698). They adhered to the principles of their founder and were the foremost advocates of the

doctrine of the separation of Church and State. After the Revolution their numbers rapidly increased. Their earliest institution of learning, Brown University, was founded in 1765.

In church government they are congregationalists. They recognize no higher office than pastor. Each congregation is independent of every other congregation. There is, however, an official intercommunion of churches and for missionary and educational purposes associations are formed.

There are many divisions among the Baptists, but most of them are small. The Regular Baptists include at least fifteen-sixteenths of the whole number, and are divided into Northern, Southern, and Colored. They are Calvinists in doctrine and practice close communion. The Northern and Southern divisions separated on the slave question in 1845.

117. **The Presbyterians.** The Presbyterian Church in America was at first composed of various elements, but most largely of the Scotch and Scotch-Irish. The early Presbyterian immigrants usually joined with other churches existing in the different colonies. Their first minister in this county was Rev. Francis Makemie who arrived in 1683. He founded churches in Maryland and Virginia and extended his labors into the Carolinas. Churches were also early established in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England. The first presbytery, that of Philadelphia, was organized in 1705, and the first synod, composed of three presbyteries, was formed in 1716. Owing to industrial oppression immense numbers of Scotch-Irish emigrated to America during the first half of the 18th century, and the Presbyterian Church in the colonies experienced a rapid

growth. At the close of the Revolution there were sixteen presbyteries, grouped into four synods. In 1789 the first General Assembly convened in Philadelphia. It adopted with slight modifications the Westminster Confession, and also the form of government and discipline of the Scottish Church with such modifications as the new conditions required.

In the meantime there were some churches which stood aloof from the main body of Presbyterians. They were the "Associate" and the "Associate Reformed" Churches. These two finally united, in 1858, and formed the United Presbyterian Church. They accept the Westminster Confession, condemn secret societies, and use only the Book of Psalms for singing at their services.

During the closing years of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th, a great spiritual awakening spread over our country, beginning in Kentucky. The great increase in churches and members created a great demand for ministers and a sufficient number could not be found. The Cumberland presbytery then took the step of ordaining to the ministry men without the educational requirements. This action finally led to a separation and to the establishment of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in 1810. But behind this movement there was one of still greater importance. The Cumberland Presbyterians could not accept the "Five Points" of Calvinism,* especially the doctrine of unconditional election and limited atonement, to which the main body strictly adhered. The new body enjoyed a flourishing existence for nearly a hundred years. In 1906 the two bodies were again united after the main body had modified its confessional basis.

* The so-called "Five Points" of Calvinism are these: Unconditional election; limited atonement; complete impotency of the human will; irresistible grace; and the perseverance of believers. (Fisher.)

The question of slavery and secession also agitated the Presbyterian Church and finally led to a separation between the Northern and Southern Churches in 1861, and the formation of the Southern General Assembly. Various efforts have been made to unite the two, but so far they have not been crowned with success.

118. **The Disciples of Christ.** The Disciples of Christ, or Campbellites as they are also called, arose in Western Pennsylvania about the year 1810. Their founder was Alexander Campbell, a Presbyterian minister from the north of Ireland. He rejected infant baptism and held that immersion was the only proper mode of baptizing. He denounced all human creeds and confessions and declared that the Bible was the only creed necessary. He was at first associated with the Baptists, but on account of doctrinal differences he was excluded from their fellowship in 1827, since which time this Church may be regarded as having had a separate existence.

While it claims to have no doctrinal confession, it adheres strictly to the doctrine of adult baptism and immersion. On other points it does not differ materially from other Reformed Churches. In its polity it is strictly congregational, the various churches associating in the prosecution of missionary and educational work.

119. **The Protestant Episcopal Church.** The Episcopal Church was the first permanent Protestant Church in America. It was established at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. During the Colonial period it was the established Church in most of the colonies. It was under the oversight of the bishop of London. There was no American bishop, and the clergy had to go to England to receive their ordination. The Revolutionary War and the establishment of American independence completely disorganized the Epicopal Church. The first question was

how to obtain bishops. The Episcopalians of Connecticut sent Samuel Seabury to England to be consecrated as their bishop. He was refused and went to Scotland, where he was consecrated by three Scottish bishops in 1784. In 1785 a general convention of lay and clerical delegates from the Episcopalians in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina met in Philadelphia. This convention took steps toward the organization of the Episcopal Church in America, and made application to the English Church for the consecration of bishops for the American Church. William White of Pennsylvania and Samuel Provoost of New York had been designated by their respective parishes for this office. They were consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1787. Three years later James Madison of Virginia was likewise consecrated for the American Church. Thus was the Episcopal Church in the United States organized and equipped. In doctrine and polity it is practically the same as the Church of England.

120. **The Congregationalists.** The Congregational Church originated in England during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. The first Congregational Church in America came over in the Mayflower in 1620. Congregationalism soon became the established religion in the greater part of New England. In doctrine it was in substantial accord with Presbyterianism as it had adopted the Westminster Confession at a general synod in Cambridge in 1648. Hence, it was comparatively easy for the Presbyterians and Congregationalists to unite where their numbers were too few to form separate churches. Their first schools were Harvard and Yale, but when Unitarianism established itself at Harvard, Andover Theological Seminary was founded in

order to provide "for the Church a learned, orthodox, and pious ministry."

In New England the growth of the Church was arrested by the spread of Unitarianism while in the West large numbers of Congregationalists were absorbed by the Presbyterians. This led many prominent Congregationalists to the conviction that the interests of their Church must be cared for. This finally resulted in the assembling of a great National Council of Congregationalists in Boston in 1865. Another was held in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1871. At the latter a permanent body was organized to meet every third year under the name of "The National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States." At one of these Councils (1883), a new Confession consisting of twelve articles was adopted. Thus while the Congregational Church leaves the individual congregations to adopt their confession and manage their own affairs, it has a strong central organization.

H. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

121. **The Dutch.** The first Lutherans in America came from Holland. They arrived with other Dutch immigrants as early as 1623 and settled on Manhattan Island, where the city of New York now stands. The government and the great mass of the colonists belonged to the Reformed Church of the Synod of Dort (§ 93) and would not tolerate any other worship. It was not before 1657 that the Lutherans with the help of their brethren in Amsterdam were able to secure a pastor. There were

then two congregations in the colony, one at New Amsterdam (New York), and one near Fort Orange (Albany). The new pastor, John Ernest Goetwater, was, however, not permitted to conduct any public services, and after enduring continual vexations he was forcibly banished from the colony the following year. But fortunately the colony soon fell under English control, and greater freedom of religion was enjoyed.

122. **The Swedes.** The Swedes were, however, the first Lutherans to organize congregations, erect churches, and conduct public services in America. In 1637 a company was sent out from Sweden which landed in 1638 near the present city of Lewes, Del. Their colony and fort they named Christina in honor of the queen of Sweden. Their first pastor, Reorus Torkillus, arrived the following year. Under his care the first Lutheran house of worship was built. Like the churches in other early colonies it was built to serve also as a place of defence against the Indians in case of necessity. Rev. Torkillus died 1643 and was succeeded by the Rev. John Campanius who arrived the same year. The latter carried on missionary work among the Indians in addition to his pastoral work, and translated Luther's smaller catechism into the language of the Delaware Indians. A number of Lutheran churches were established as the colony grew and expanded. From time to time pastors came over from the fatherland. After a period of seventeen years this flourishing colony unfortunately fell into the hands of the Dutch, but after nine years it was ceded by them to the English Crown (1664).

When the colony had thus fallen into other hands, the colonists were wholly neglected by the mother country even in religious matters. They were without

pastors and their bibles, hymn-books, and other books of devotion were few and badly worn. Time and again they had sought to secure aid from home but in vain.

THE GLORIA DEI CHURCH.

Finally when all hope seemed gone they were providentially enabled to send a letter to Charles XI., then king of Sweden. They pictured the destitute condition of the colony in spiritual matters and begged that pastors be

sent them. They also asked for Books—12 Bibles, 3 Books of Sermons, 42 Books of Devotion, 100 Hymn-Books, 200 Catechisms, and 200 ABC-Books—for all of which they promised prompt payment. This letter made a deep impression on the king. He caused copies of it to be circulated throughout the kingdom, and the reading of it brought tears to many eyes. With the help of Jesper Svedberg suitable men were secured for the mission. These were Andreas Rudman, Eric Björk, and Jonas Aurén. At last in 1696 a ship carrying these men and a large supply of books set sail for America. A brighter day now dawned for the colony. Rudman took charge of the congregation at Wicacoa (Philadelphia), where before long the *Gloria Dei Church* was built and dedicated (1700). Björk became the pastor of the Christina congregation at Wilmington. Here too a new church was built. It was dedicated on Trinity Sunday 1699 and received the name of *The Holy Trinity Church.* It is now better known as *The Old Swedes Church.*

But after the Revolution as the communication with the mother country almost wholly ceased, and no Lutheran pastors came over to take the place of those who died or returned home, the Lutheran churches one by one went over to the Episcopalians, who to-day own and control those historic places. The last Swedish Lutheran pastor, Dr. N. Collin, died in 1831.

123. **The Germans.** Owing to the ravages of the Thirty Years' War and the lack of a central government, the idea of colonization was slow to develop among the Germans. The first German Lutheran church in America was built by Rev. Justus Falckner in what was known as Falckner's Swamp (New Hanover, Pa.) in 1703, and the first German pastor was the Rev. Justus Falckner, who was ordained by the Swedish

Lutheran pastors in the Gloria Dei church at Wicacoa in 1703. This was the first Lutheran ordination in America. Falckner's parish covered about 200 miles. This he faithfully served until his death in 1723.

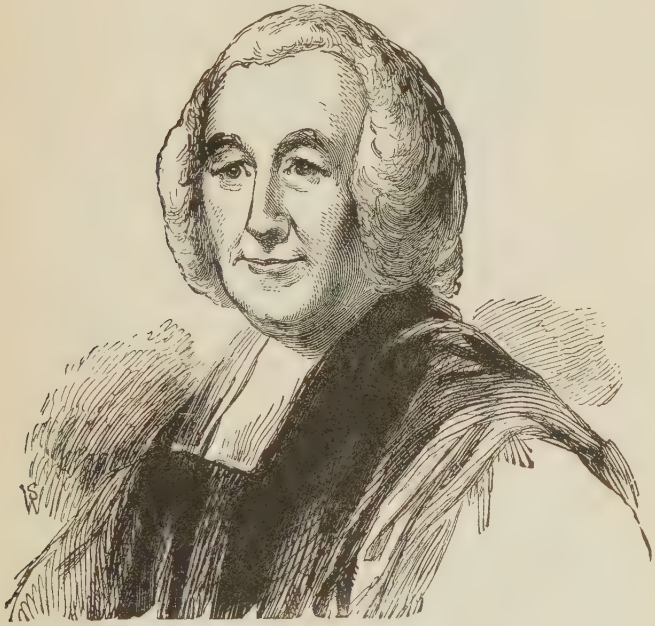
The devastations of the Palatinate by the armies of Louis XIV. of France caused thousands of refugees to flock to England and Holland for shelter. Under the protection of the English Crown and at its expense, some sixty of these refugees, led by the Lutheran pastor, Joshua von Kocherthal, sailed from England in 1708 and settled on the west bank of the Hudson. Large bodies of South German Lutherans followed them and settled in New York and Pennsylvania. They were served first by Kocherthal and Falckner, and afterwards by Rev. W. Christopher Berkenmeier and Rev. Michael Christian Knoll. A number of the refugees from the Palatinate settled New Berne, N. C., in 1710. Others settled in Charleston, S. C.

One of the most beautiful stories in the history of the Lutheran Church is that of the Salzburgers. Driven from their homes in Upper Austria by one of the most cruel and relentless persecutions in modern times, they went forth singing their songs of victory and praise in the midst of their sufferings, seeking new homes where they could enjoy freedom to worship their God. Some settled in Prussia, others in Holland, Sweden, England, and America. The latter group accepted the invitation of the Society in England for Propagating the Gospel, and prepared to embark for the new colony of Georgia. They were given a free passage, and under the lead of their pastors, Rev. John Martin Bolzius and Rev. Israel Christian Gronau, both of whom had been pupils in the Orphan School at Halle, they formed their first settlement in Georgia, which they appropriately named

Ebenezer (1734). Thus was the Lutheran Church planted in the far South. Pennsylvania, however, became the stronghold of Luteranism in the early history of the Church. From its fertile moutain valleys Lutherans gradually poured into Western Maryland and the Valley of Virginia and then into Tennessee and the Carolinas, and before the end of the century Lutheranism had been firmly planted in all the states from New York to Georgia.

124. **The Organization of the Lutheran Church.** But for a long time these Lutheran churches, scattered over these immense wildernesses, remained separated, often without pastors, and without any organic connection one with another. The work of organizing the early Lutheran Church in this country fell to the Rev. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, who has often been called the Patriach of the Lutheran Church in America. He had been selected for this mission by Dr. Gotthelf August Francke, a worthy son and successor of the great August Herman Francke, the founder of the Franckean Institutions at Halle (§ 86). He arrived in Philadelphia in November 1742. He was then in his 32nd year. Trained in the school of German Pietism in its best days, richly endowed in heart and mind, possessed of a sound judgment and practical sense, and filled with love for the salvation of souls and with faith in God and the future of the Church in America, he was especially equipped for the great work he was called to accomplish. The call had gone forth from three churches, namely Philadelphia, Providence, and New Hanover, and these became the center and nucleus of his work. Gradually his field extended far beyond these limits until the whole continent became his parish. In 1748 he organized the first Evangelical Lutheran Synod in America, in Phila-

delphia. This body is known to-day as the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. There were present at this organization the following ministers: Sandin and Næsman of the Swedish



Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.

Churches, and Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh, Kurtz, and Hartwig of the German.

As the Church grew and developed other bodies were organized. In 1787 the Ministerium of New York was formed. The North Carolina Synod followed in 1803; the Ohio Synod in 1818; the Maryland and Virginia Synod in 1820; the Tennessee in 1820.

In 1820 delegates from the Pennsylvania, the New York, the North Carolina, and the Maryland and Virginia Synods met at Hagerstown, Md., for the purpose of organizing a General Synod of the Lutheran Church in America. The plan was agreed to and the first meeting of the General Synod was held at Frederick, Md., in 1822. One of the first important acts of this body was the establishment of the Theological seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., in 1826. As new synods were formed they joined, with few exceptions, the general body until in 1860 it embraced 26 synods. The Joint Synod of Ohio, the oldest synod west of the Alleghany Mountains, stood aloof, and it still remains an independent synod. It has churches in a large number of states. Its chief seat of learning is Capital University in Columbus, Ohio. At the outbreak of the Civil War the southern synods withdrew and organized the General Synod South. This was reorganized in 1886, and is now known as the "United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South."

The influence of Rationalism (§§ 89 and 91) was felt by the Lutheran Church also in America and led to a laxity in doctrinal views. The revival of Lutheranism begun by Harms in 1817 also exerted a powerful influence in America, especially through the immigration of large bodies of Lutherans. Both of these tendencies were felt within the General Synod, and finally led to a rupture. A call was issued by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1866 "to Evangelical Lutheran Synods, ministers, and congregations in the United States and Canadas, which confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, inviting them to unite in a convention for the purpose of forming a union of Lutheran Synods." This call led to a preliminary convention in Reading, Pa.,

C. P. KRAUTH.

December 1866 and the organization of "The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church i America" at Ft. Wayne, Ind , in November 1867. The greatest champion of Conservative Lutheranism during this period was unquestionably Dr. C. P. Krauth (died 1883), the most renowned theologian the American Lutheran Church has ever produced.

125. **Later German Accessions** The immense numbers of German Lutherans who have come to this country during the last two generations have all been more or less affected by the conditions of the Church in the home country (§§ 91 and 97). Some of them have joined one or another of the synods already existing, but by far the larger portion of them have organized synods of their own. The first of these was the Buffalo Synod, organized at Buffalo, N. Y., in 1845, by the Rev. J. A. A. Grabau who had been deposed as pastor of a church in Erfurt and imprisoned for refusing to submit to the Church Union decreed by the king of Prussia (§ 97). The synod has never been a large body. Its theological seminary (Martin Luther) is located at Buffalo, N. Y.

By far the largest of all the Lutheran synods is the "German Evangelical Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States", better known as the "Missouri Synod". The first congregations of the synod were formed in Missouri in 1839 by a band of immigrants from Saxony. The synod was organized at Chicago in 1847. The leading man in the synod for forty years was the Rev. Dr. C. F. W. Walther (died 1887). On the subject of election the doctrinal position of the synod approaches very closely to Calvinism.

The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa was organized in 1854. It then numbered four ministers and three congregations. It is to-day a flourishing synod of

nearly 600 pastors and about 900 congregations. It has always remained an independent synod though it has always maintained friendly relations with the General Council. Its leading men have been the two brothers Revs. Sigmund and Gottfried Fritschel and Rev. J. Deindoerfer. Its theological seminary is at Dubuque, its chief college at Clinton, Ia.

In 1872, in Milwaukee, Wis., the Synodical Conference was formed by the Missouri Synod and such other synods as could affiliate with it. It embraces to-day (1906) besides the Missouri Synod, the Wisconsin Synod (organized in 1852), the Minnesota Synod (organized in 1860), the Michigan Synod (organized in 1860), the English Synod of Missouri (organized in 1888), and the Synod of Nebraska and other States (organized in 1903). It is the largest of all the general bodies, embracing nearly one-third of all the Lutherans in America.

126. **The Norwegians, Danes, Icelanders, etc.** The first band of immigrants from Norway to the United States arrived in 1825 and settled in Rochester, N. Y. Eleven years later, 1836, the first Norwegian settlement in the West was made in La Salle Co., Illinois. From that time the stream of Norwegian immigration became steady and settlements were made in northern Illinois and in Wisconsin. For a number of years these settlers were left without spiritual care for there were no pastors among them. While they were all sound Lutherans in confession, three parties existed among them. Some had belonged to the Hauge movement in Norway and were of a decidedly pietistic character. Others were in full sympathy with the State Church and were opposed to pietism and the employment of laymen as preachers

and leaders. Others again formed a moderate party between these two.

The first minister among them, Rev. C. L. Clausen, who had been called to the congregations at Muskego and Yorksville, Wis., was ordained by a German Lutheran pastor of Milwaukee in 1843. Two years later the first Norwegian church was built at Muskego.

In 1846 the first steps were taken toward the organization of the "Hauge Synod". The conservative Norwegians organized the "Norwegian Synod" in 1853. Other pastors and congregations together with the Swedes joined the Synod of Northern Illinois (organized in 1851). In 1860 the Swedes and Norwegians separated from that synod and organized the Augustana Synod. For ten years they worked harmoniously together and then separated with mutual good-will (1870). The Norwegian brethren were immediately split up and remained divided until 1890, when they united under the name of the "United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America." It was hoped that the Hauge Synod would also join in this union, but thus far it has failed to do so. The Norwegian Synod has always stood aloof from the movement. Besides these three synods there is a fourth one known as the "Lutheran Free Church." All these synods remain independent of any general body.

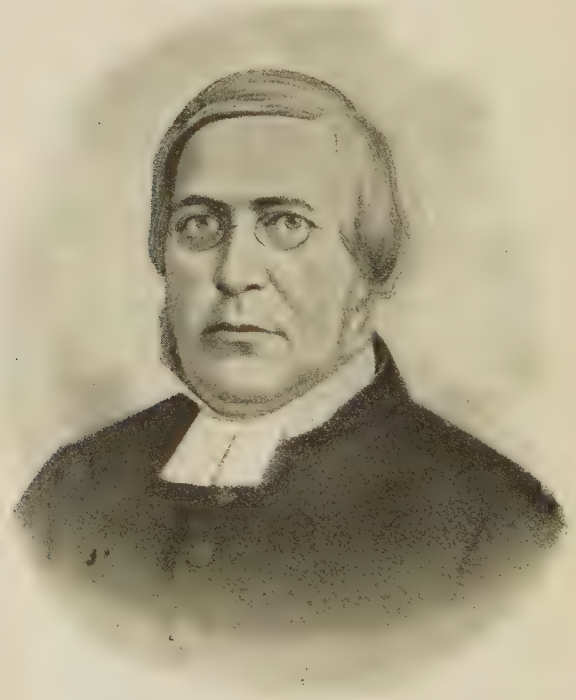
The work among the Danes was begun in 1869. There are now two Danish Lutheran bodies in America: the "Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America" (organized in 1872) and the "United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (organized in 1896). The latter was formed by the union of two bodies dating respectively from 1884 and 1894.

There is also a synod of Icelanders (organized in 1885); one of Finns, the Suomi Synod (organized in 1889); and one of Slavonians, the Slovak Synod of Pennsylvania (organized in 1902.)

127. **The Augustana Synod.** The Swedish Lutheran churches on the Delaware had ceased to be Lutheran churches and had passed into the hands of the Episcopalians. But this was not to be the end of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America. In 1845 several families arrived from Östergötland, Sweden, and formed a settlement in New Sweden, Ia. The following year the erratic Eric Janson arrived with his followers and established his communistic colony at Bishop Hill, Illinois. The way for Swedish immigration was now opened and year after year small parties arrived until 1853, when the tide of immigration set in with greater force. The early settlements were made in Sugar Grove, Pa.; Jamestown, N. Y.; Chicago, Andover, Rock Island, Moline, Galesburg, and other places in Illinois; Burlington and New Sweden, Ia.; and in Chisago, Carver, Goodhue, and other counties in Minnesota.

In 1848 the settlers in New Sweden, Ia., organized themselves into a Swedish Lutheran congregation and chose one of their members, M. F. Hokanson, as pastor to preach the Word and to administer the sacraments. In 1849 Rev. Lars Paul Esbjörn (died 1870), the founder of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America, arrived to minister to the spiritual needs of his scattered countrymen. He located in Andover, Ill., and at once took up his work. Congregations were organized in Andover (1850), in Moline (1850), and Galesburg (1851), and a number other places were visited. In 1851 he made a tour through the East to solicit funds for church buildings. His efforts were successful. Among

the donors was the celebrated Jenny Lind, who was then making a tour in the United States, and who donated $1,500 to the fund. With aid thus secured the

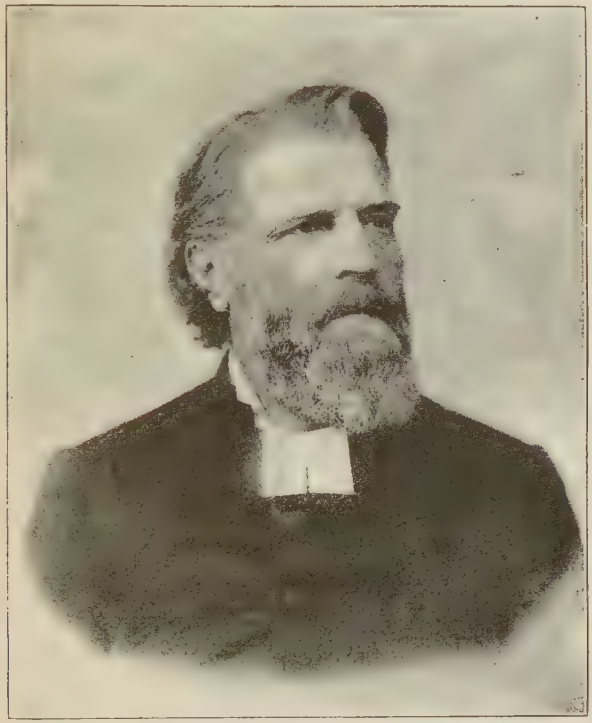


LARS PAUL ESBJÖRN.

first churches were erected in Andover, Moline, and New Sweden.

In the fall of 1851 a number of American Lutherans met in Cedarville, Ill., for the purpose of uniting them-

selves into a synod. Rev. Esbjörn and some Norwegian pastors were also present and joined in the work. Thus was the Synod of Northern Illinois organized and the



ERLAND CARLSSON.

young Swedish Lutheran churches at once brought into synodical connections.

Four able men soon arrived from Sweden to engage as pastors and leaders in the great work. They were: T. N. Hasselquist, in 1852, stationed at Galesburg; Erland Carlsson, in 1853, stationed at Chicago; Jonas

Swensson and O. C. T. Andrén, both in 1856, the former stationed in Jamestown and Sugar Grove and the latter in Moline. These were all the accessions of pastors from Sweden that the churches received during the pioneer days.* After this they had to depend upon their own resources for pastors. Fortunately suitable material was found. The first Swedish pastor ordained among them was M. F. Hokanson, in 1853. He had already begun the work in New Sweden and now continued in charge of the work in Iowa. In 1856, after having served a year as licentiates, Eric Norelius, P. A. Cederstam, and A. Andreen were ordained to the holy ministry, and three years later P. Beckman, Peter Carlson, and P. J. C. Boreen, after having also served as licentiates, received ordination. The two first and the three last became the pioneers in the work in Minnesota. Rev. Andreen was stationed in Rockford, Ill.

One of the first duties of the Church thus founded was to provide for the necessary training of ministers. The Synod of Northern Illinois together with other bodies had established such an institution at Springfield, Ill. At the meeting of the synod in Waverly, Ill., in 1855, it was proposed to establish a Scandinavian professorship at this institution. The plan met mith much favor, and in the fall of 1858 the new department was opened with Rev. L. P. Esbjörn as theological professor. Doctrinal differences had existed between the American and Scandinavian members of the synod from the very beginning. These differences were the same as those existing in the General Synod which finally led to the organization of the General Council. This together with other complications led Prof. Esbjörn to resign his professor-

* The next two ministers from Sweden were Dr. A. R. Cervin, in 1864, and Dr. O. Olsson, in 1869.

ship in April 1860, and to withdraw to Chicago. The Scandinavian students, with the exception of two, withdrew with him. The Scandinavian members of the Synod then met in a general conference in Chicago, April 23–28, and unanimously approved Prof. Esbjörn's action, and further resolved to withdraw from the Synod of Northern Illinois and to establish a synod and theological seminary of their own.

In accordance with this resolution, the Swedish and Norwegian pastors and delegates met in the Norwegian church on Jefferson Prairie, near Clinton, Rock County, Wis., June 5—11, 1860, and organized "The Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America", or briefly "The Augustana Synod". Constitutions were adopted for the synod and the theological seminary. The new institution was to be known as "Augustana Seminary", and was temporarily located in Chicago. Professor L. P. Esbjörn was elected its first professor and president and a board of directors was chosen. Dr. T. N. Hasselquist was elected president of the synod, and to this position he was re-elected year after year until 1870.

At the time of the organization of the synod, the Swedish branch of it numbered 17 pastors (including 5 ordained at this meeting), 36 congregations, 21 church edifices, and 3,747 communicant members; the Norwegians numbered 10 pastors (including 3 ordained at the meeting), 13 congregations, 8 church edifices, and 1,220 communicant members. They were grouped into three conferences: one Norwegian, the Chicago Conference; and two Swedish, the Mississippi (afterwards Illinois) and the Minnesota.* The Swedes and Norwegians

* These conferences were not organized now, but had existed before. The Mississippi Conference was organized in 1853, and the Minnesota in 1858.

T. N. HASSELQUIST

worked harmoniously together until 1870, when they separated with mutual good-will and well-wishes.

At the time of the separation the Swedish part of the synod numbered 46 pastors, 110 congregations, 57 church edifices, and 16,960 communicant members. Three new conferences were now added, New York, Iowa, and Kansas, and the boundaries of all the conferences were definitely fixed. In 1886 the Nebraska Conference was organized and seven years later the Columbia and California Conferences were added, making eight conferences in all.

C. O. Rosenius.

The Synod has an immense home mission field embracing at present (1906) nearly all the states and territories of the Union and most of the provinces and territories of Canada. The greater part of this work is done through the mission boards of the various conferences, the central mission board of the synod having charge of such fields as lie outside of the bounds of the conferences. Its foreign mission work is carried on through the General Council of which the Synod is a member.

There have never been any doctrinal controversies nor any schism within the Synod. The only questions

that have arisen have been mainly of a constitutional, financial, and educational nature. A spirit of true pietism characterized the Synod, especially during the earlier years, and the influence of Dr. Fjellstedt, C. O. Rosenius (§ 92), and Pastor Ahlberg was deeply felt. On the death of C. O. Rosenius and the rise of the Waldenstromian heresy in Sweden, the doctrine of the atonement was earnestly discussed and carefully studied by both pastors and people. This led to a deeper and clearer insight into the Word of God and has borne blessed fruit throughout the Synod.

The name *Augustana* was suggested by Rev., afterwards Dr., Eric Norelius. It was a most appropriate name as it gave expression to the sound doctrinal position of the Synod (The Augsburg Confession is known in Latin as the Confessio Augustana). The full official name of the Synod, "The Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America", was changed in 1894 by dropping the word "Scandinavian".

The Synod is a free-church organization and is constituted as follows: 1) the *Congregations*, 1,027 in number (report of 1905), 2) which are loosely grouped into *Mission Districts*; 3) the congregations and mission districts are further united into *Conferences*; 4) the conferences are united in the *Synod*; 4) the Synod is united with other Lutheran bodies in the General Council.

The congregations manage their own local affairs and choose their own pastor. The government is exercised by the pastor, the church council (pastor and deacons), the board of trustees, and the congregation itself.

The Mission Districts are simply smaller church territories, united for edification and the promotion of the interests of the Church. They have limited disciplinary power. Meetings are usually held once a month. They are of comparatively recent origin.

The Conferences are (1906) eight in number: 1) *New York*, embracing all the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Ohio. 2) *Illinois*, embracing Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and eastern Wisconsin. 3) *Minnesota*, embracing Minnesota, northwestern Wisconsin, North and

South Dakota, and Ontario, Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan in Canada. 4) *Iowa*, embracing Iowa and Missouri, except Kansas City. 5) *Kansas*, embracing Kansas, Colorado, Texas, and Kansas City, Mo. 6) *Nebraska*, embracing Nebraska and Wyoming. 7) *Columbia*, embracing Oregon, Washington, northern Idaho, and British Columbia. 8) *California*, including only the State of California. All other parts of the Continent in which the Synod conducts work belong to the general mission field of the Synod. They are: 1) *Montana*, constituting one mission district, entitled to representation at the meeting of Synod. 2) *Utah* and *southern Idaho*, also constituting a district with right of representation. 3) *Alabama* and *Florida*. 4) *Alaska*. The last two divisions have not yet been organized into mission districts. The conferences meet annually. To these meetings each congregation is entitled to one lay and one clerical delegate. Each conference has charge of the discipline of its pastors, of its educational and home mission work, and such church and charitable institutions as it may have established within its borders.

The Synod holds annual conventions, composed of lay and clerical delegates chosen by the conferences. It has charge of the examination and ordination of candidates for the ministry; the liturgy, hymn-books, and text-books used in the churches and schools; the foreign mission work; the home mission work on the general field; its institution of learning, Augustana College and Theological Seminary; its publishing house, Augustana Book Concern; its immigrant homes (New York and Boston); its deaconess institute (Omaha); and finally it establishes conferences, defines their territorial limits, approves their constitutions, and serves as a court of appeals in certain cases. Its officers, president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer, are elected biennially. The successive presidents of the synod have been: Rev. T. N. Hasselquist, D. D., 1860—1870; Rev. Jonas Swensson, 1870—1873; Rev. Eric Norelius, D. D., 1874—1881; Rev. Erland Carlsson, D. D., 1881—1888; Rev. S. P. A. Lindahl, D. D., 1888—1891; Rev. P. J. Swärd, D. D., 1891—1899; Rev. Eric Norelius, D. D., 1899—

Augustana College and Theological Seminary. The seminary was opened in Chicago in 1860. It was removed to Paxton, Ford Co., Ill., in 1863 and incorporated under the laws of the state the same year. It received its charter from the Illinois Legislature in 1865. This was amended by the same body in 1869. By its charter it was

empowered to confer all the literary, scientific, and honorary degrees usually conferred by colleges and universities. In 1875 it was moved to Rock Island, Ill., where it still remains. The original plan of the institution contemplated three departments: an academy, a college, and a theological seminary. The college department necessarily developed slowly, its first class graduating in 1877. Other departments have since been added, the Conservatory of Music (1887) and the Business College (1888). One of the early patrons of the institution was the king of Sweden, Charles

Augustana College and Theological Seminary.

XV., who donated 5,000 volumes to the library and authorized two collections, during two successive years, to be taken up in all the churches of the kingdom. This was a great help in the days of small beginnings. The development of the institution has been that of steady growth in full conformity with the tenets and the spirit of the Church. To its efficient work both in the college and the seminary the Synod owes much of its phenominal growth. The successive presidents have been: Rev. L. P. Esbjörn, 1860—1863; Rev. T. N. Hasselquist, D. D., 1863—1891; Rev. O. Olsson, D. D., 1891—1900; Rev. Gustav Andreen, Ph. D,, 1901—.

Gustavus Adolphus College. The need of more pastors and a competent corps of parochial school teachers called into existence a school in Minnesota. It was opened in Red Wing, during the winter of 1862, under the name of *Minnesota Elementar Skola.* By a

O. Olsson.

popular vote among the churches it was removed the following year to East Union, Carver Co., where, under the name of *St. Ansgar's Academy*, it remained till the spring of 1876. Then a bonus of $10,000 and 10 acres of land was accepted and the school was

moved to St. Peter, Minn., where under the name of Gustavus Adolphus College, it still remains. Its college curriculum was completed in 1889, and its first class graduated in May 1890. The institution has always been characterized by thoroughness, loyalty to the Church, true conservatism, and firm discipline. It is owned and controlled by the Minnesota Conference.

Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas, was founded in 1881 by Dr. C. A. Swensson (died 1904). Its aim was to educate ministers, teachers, organists, businessmen, and the young people of the Church in general. Its first college class was graduated in 1891. It has always been progressive, and its influence has been felt in wide circles. It is owned and controlled by the Kansas Conference.

Luther Academy, Wahoo, Nebraska, was opened in 1883. It has consistently maintained the purpose of its founders to serve as an academy for the education of the young people of the Church and as a feeder to the colleges of the Synod. Its work has always been thorough, its spirit conservative. It belongs to the Nebraska Conference.

Upsala College, Kenilworth, New Jersey, was founded in 1893 under the auspices of the New York Conference. Its aims, methods, and courses are the same as those of the other institutions in the Synod. Its first college class graduated in 1905.

Northwestern College, Fergus Falls, Minnesota, was founded in 1900 by the Alexandria Mission Dirtrict of the Minnesota Conference. It has an immense field in the great Northwest. While it is not owned and controlled by the Conference it enjoys its moral support, and receives a portion of all the school funds collected in the seven northern mission districts of the Conference.

Minnesota College in Minneapolis, Minnesota, was founded in 1904. Its chief field are the "twin cities" and vicinity. It is owned and controlled by the Minnesota Conference.

Trinity College, Round Rock, Texas, is the youngest of the educational institutions of the Synod. It was founded in 1905, and belongs to the Austin District of the Kansas Conference.

Charitable Institutions. The Synod has also been very active in works of charity and mercy, but most of this work has been done by the conferences. The Synod itself owns and supports the "Immanuel Deaconess Institute" with a hospital and orphan home in Omaha, Nebraska. The Illinois Conference supports two orphan homes, in Andover and Joliet, Ill., the "Augustana Hospital" in

Chicago, and one home for the aged in Joliet. The Minnesota Conference supports an orphan home in Vasa, Minn., the "Bethesda Hospital" with a deaconess home in St. Paul, and a home for aged in Chisago City, Minn. The Iowa Conference has an orphan home in Stanton, Iowa. The Kansas Conference supports an orphan home in Mariadahl, Kansas. The New York Conference also supports an orphan home in Jamestown, N. Y.

Publications. In January 1855 Dr. T. N. Hasselquist published the first number of the oldest Swedish weekly newspaper in America, "Hemlandet". In 1856 he also published "Det Rätta Hemlandet", which after many metamorphoses became "Augustana", the official organ of the Synod. The weekly and monthly, secular, church, and semi-church papers have since wonderfully multiplied within the Synod. A publishing house with headquarters in Chicago was established in 1858. This was sold in 1874 to Engberg and Holmberg of Chicago. Preparatory steps were, however, soon taken for the establishmet of another synodical publishing house. But it was not before 1889 that the Synod assumed control of the new establishment. This is known as the Augustana Book Concern. It is located in Rock Island, and has branch offices in St. Paul and New York.

128. **Summary of the Lutheran Church in America.** As may be seen from the foregoing sections the Lutheran Church in America is grouped into four general bodies and a number of independent synods. These are the following: 1) The General Synod, organized in 1821, consisting of 25 synods, and numbering some over 1,300 ministers, 1,700 congregations, and 240,000 communicant members. 2) The General Council, organized in 1867, consisting of 12 synods, and numbering nearly 1,500 ministers, 2,300 congregations, and over 400,000 communicant members. 3) The Synodical Conference, organized in 1872, consisting of 6 synods, and numbering over 2,300 ministers, nearly 4,000 congregations, and over 600,000 communicant members. 4) The United Synod, South, organized 1886, consisting of 8 synods, and numbering 230 ministers, 450 congrega-

tions, and about 48,000 communicant members. 5) The Independent Synods are 15 in all. They number some over 2,400 ministers, about 5,300 congregations, and about 600,000 communicant members. The most important of these synods are, the Joint Synod of Ohio (English and German), the Iowa Synod (German), the four Norwegian synods, the two Danish synods, the Icelandic, and the Finnish. 6) There are also 83 ministers, 200 congregations, with 25,000 communicant members that do not sustain any synodical connection. The grand totals of the whole Church is 66 synods, 9,000 ministers, nearly 14,000 congregations, and about 1,900,000 communicant members.

These synods and congregations support 24 theological seminaries, 41 colleges, 38 academies, 10 ladies' seminaries and colleges, 48 orphans' homes, 25 hospitals, 21 homes for aged, asylums, etc., 8 deaconess institutions, 13 immigrant homes and seamen's missions, and 100 foreign missionaries with 900 native helpers.

While the Lutheran Church was one of the four Protestant Churches first planted in America and ranks today numerically third among the Protestant Churches, it has not received the recognition to which its age and strength would entitle it. There are various reasons for this. First the Lutheran Church has never meddled in the affairs of State. It is not dependent upon any particular form of government. It thrives as well under a monarchy as a republic, and can adapt itself to an episcopal, presbyterian, or congregational form of Church government. Its influence has been powerful, but it has been of a deep and quiet nature and has not appeared on the surface. Again, until recently the work of the Church has been conducted mainly in foreign tongues, principally German, Swedish, and Norwegian. It has,

therefore, been undervalued and often been misunderstood, especially by the ignorant and the vulgar. But all that belongs to the past. People are beginning to learn that the Lutheran Church instead of being related to Catholicism is the Mother-Church of the Reformation and the backbone of Protestantism.

The first exclusively English Lutheran Church in America, St. John's, Philadelphia, was organized in 1806. The progress of the English work was, however, very slow at first, and this must necessarily be the experience of every synod using a foreign tongue. People naturally cling tenaciously to the mother-tongue especially in church matters, as it remains the language of the heart and of devotion. Furthermore there was no Lutheran literature in English—no catechisms, no textbooks, no hymnals, no devotional works. All this had to be created either by making translations or producing original works. And this took time. But thanks to the devoted labors of pious and able men, we have to-day a rich Lutheran doctrinal and devotional literature in English.

During the last generation the English work has progressed very rapidly. More than one-third of the congregations now use the English language exclusively. The language question still remains one of the most important problems before the Lutheran Church in America. How to meet the wants of the thousands of immigrants who come from Lutheran homes to our shores every year as well as the hundreds of thousands of others to whom the foreign tongue is still the language of devotion, and at the same time not neglect the needs of those whose mother-tongue is now the English, when as often happens these elements are all found in the same

congregation, is a question of surpassing difficulty and requires the greatest wisdom, work, and sacrifice.

Another important question before the Lutheran Church in this country is that of unification, not by consolidation, but by federation on the basis of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession.

I. THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

129. **The Propagation of the Gospel through Colonization.** The Church has extended her territories in modern times by two methods, by the colonization of new countries and by mission work among heathen nations. By the first method Christianity has been extended over America, a large part of Australia, and certain parts of Africa and Asia. While this process has greatly increased the territory of the Church, it has not been very successful in converting the native population. In the temperate parts of North America it has largely resulted in the expulsion or extermination of the natives. The same fate seems to await the natives of Australia. In Asia the native population is too large and too important to be expelled or exterminated. Except throughout the immense wastes of Siberia, there is little room for colonization. The second method, that of Christian missions, will have to be employed there to win the countries for Christ. The colonization of Africa, except the extreme southern portion, is of recent date. Perhaps the tropical climate of the central region will be the strong ally of the native population. This extermination process has not been one of design, for earnest efforts have been made to civilize and Christianize the natives, especially in the United States. It seems rather

to be the inevitable effect upon a weak and savage or barbarous people coming in contact with a numerous, strong, and aggressive people of a high culture.

130. **Mission Work among Heathen nations.** From the opening of modern history to the present day the Roman Catholic Church has labored zealously and not without success to convert and to add to her fold heathen and Mohammedan peoples. At present her missions extend to nearly every portion of the known world. The central agency for this great work is the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (congregatio de Propaganda Fide), or the *Propaganda*, as it is usually called, organized in 1622 with the Pope as the chief leader.

The Protestant Churches needed to be thoroughly established and built up *within* before they could successfully carry on any work *without*. Mission work among the Lapps was begun by Sweden in 1559; the Dutch sent missionaries to Ceylon as early as 1636; the city of Lübeck sent out Peter Heyling as a missionary to Abyssinia in 1634; efforts were also made by Eliot and Campanius to convert the American Indians. This constitutes about all the Protestant mission work among heathen nations during the 16th and 17th centuries. At the opening of the 18th century a more general interest in foreign missions was awakened in the Protestant Church. The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded in 1701, but it was intended for the especial benefit of the American Colonies. The first real missionary enterprise was started by the king of Denmark, Frederick IV., in 1702, in Tranquebar, in his possessions on the southeast coast of India. He applied to August Herman Francke at Halle for missionaries.

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau were selected. Ziegenbalg translated the Bible into the Tamil language and laid a firm foundation for the work. This was the first Protestant mission in India. It was reenforced from time to time by earnest and able missionaries from the same great center of missionary enter-

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg.

prises, the Franckean Institution at Halle. Gotthelf August Francke had intended Muhlenberg for this mission, but as he was sent to America Christian Frederick Schwartz was selected instead. He was sent to Tranquebar in 1750. He extended his labors also to Ceylon, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore. He met with remarkable

success "and prepared the way for the successful evangelization of India" in the future. He has been called the Patriarch of Lutheran Missions and is one of the greatest missionaries of all times.

In 1721, Hans Egede, a young Norwegian pastor, burning with desire to carry the Gospel to the inhabitants of Greenland, who, as was then generally supposed, were the descendants of the ancient Northmen, sailed from Norway, and with his wife and children landed upon that uninviting coast. He soon learned that the Eskimos were a distinct people and no descendants of Northmen. But his zeal for the work was not lessened on that account. The greatest difficulty was the language, but with the help of his children, who learned it readily from the Eskimo children, he soon acquired such knowledge of it as to be able to converse with them and to give them a written language and prepare for them a short synopsis of the Christian religion. By his kindness, his love and devotion he won the hearts of the natives and they revered him as a father. After many years of untold labors, hardships, and privations, his faithful wife sank beneath the burden and died. His own strength was failing and he needed rest. He returned home, i. e. to Copenhagen, where he became the teacher and head of a seminary for the training of Greenland missionaries. His son Paul succeeded him in the work on the field. As a result of this mission Greenland is to-day a Christian land.

At the close of the 18th century and the opening of the 19th the modern missionary societies began to be organized and throughout the whole of the last century such societies continued to be organized and churches and synods in all Christian lands engaged in the great work, so that the 19th century became the great

missionary century of history, and the time is fast approaching when the Gospel shall have been "published among all nations."

Two missionary bodies still existing belong to an earlier date. They are the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, already referred to, and the Moravian Brotherhood, which may be regarded as a missionary society. The former, organized in 1701, is now carrying on missionary work in India, China, Japan, and Malay, the latter has perhaps been the most active of all missionary bodies. It is now conducting work in Africa, India, Australia, South America, the West Indies, Alaska, and Labrador.

Of the societies of a later origin the Baptist Missionary Society (English) comes first. It was organized in 1792. Its first missionary was the great oriental scholar, William Carey. He was sent to India in 1793 and for over forty years labored in the Presidency of Calcutta as missionary, teacher, and student of oriental languages. The London Missionary Society (Noncorformist) followed in 1795. Its first noted missionaries were Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, sent to Canton in 1807; John Williams, sent to the South Sea Islands in 1816; and Robert Moffat, the great missionary pioneer in South Africa. His son-in-law, David Livingstone, the great African missionary and explorer, also entered the service of this society.

The first American society was the "American Board" (Congregationalist) organized in 1810. It was followed by the Baptist Missionary Union in 1814. Then came the Methodist Episcopal in 1832, Protestant Episcopal in 1835, Lutheran (Ministerium of Pennsylvania) 1836, Dutch Reformed in 1836, Presbyterian 1837, Lutheran (General Synod) 1837.

These societies and organizations have multiplied until there are to-day over 60 American and some over 70 European societies. Of these about one-third belong to the Lutheran Church. The most prominent of which are: "The Berlin Missionary Society" (1824) with missions in Africa and China; 2) "The Leipzig Society" (1836) with missions in India and Africa; 2) "The Gossner Society" (1836) with missions in India; 4) "The Hermannsburg Missionary Society" (1849, by Louis Harms) with missions in India, Africa, New Zealand, and Persia; 5) "The Swedish Missionary Society" (Svenska missionssällskapet, 1835) with orphan homes and schools in Lapland; 6) "The Evangelical Fatherland Association" (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen, 1856) with missions in East Africa and Central India; 7) "The Swedish Church Missionary Society" (1868) with missions in South Africa and India; 8) "The Danish Missionary Society" (1821) with missions in China and among the Tamils in India; 9) "The Norwegian Missionary Society" (1842) with missions in South Africa and Madagascar; 10) "The Finnish Missionary Society" (1859) with missions in Africa and China; 11) "The Dutch Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society" (1882) with missions in the Dutch East Indies; 12) "The India Home Missions to the Santals" (1867, by Bœrresen and Skrefsrud) supported mainly by Scandinavians in Europe and America.

The Church of Sweden labors among the Zulus in South Africa and also among the Tamils of India. The latter field is now worked in connection with the Lutheran Church in Germany. The work is a continuation of the Danish mission at Tranquebar begun by Ziegenbalg. For Sweden the work was first carried on by the Swedish Missionary Society (Svenska missionssällskapet), but it has now turned the field over to the Swedish Church and at present it only maintains orphan homes and schools in Lapland. The Evangelical Fatherland Association (Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen) labors in Northern Abyssinia, aiming at reaching the Galla people in the West. It also carries on missions in three districts in Central India. And finally the Swedish Mission Covenant supports missions in the Congo Free

State and other places. Among the more prominent Swedish missionaries we may mention the gifted and

A Mission Festival at Johannelund (The Evangelical Fatherland Assoc'n's Institute) About 1870.

zealous Dr. P. Fjellstedt, who after successful labors among heathen peoples devoted himself to the equally

important work of arousing and maintaining missionary interest at home; and secondly the learned and devoted A. Blomstrand, who employed his rich gifts and powers among the Tamils of India.

The first efforts of the Lutherans in America were necessarily directed towards home missions. As soon as the General Synod had been organized the question of foreign missions began to be seriously considered, and a foreign missionary society was formed in 1837. In the meantime the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which had withdrawn from the General Synod, had organized a missionary society the previous year. In 1839 the Rev. C. F. Heyer, afterwards reverently called Father Heyer, was called by the General Synod as missionary to India. He accepted the call, but learning that he was to be placed under the care of the American Board (Congregationalist) he reconsidered the matter and declined the call. He then offered his services to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. After much hesitation he was sent by the latter body, and arrived in Guntur, India, in 1842. In the meantime the General Synod reconsidered its proposed connection with the American Board, and in 1843 called the Rev. Walter Gunn as missionary to the same field. The two societies worked harmoniously together and when the Ministerium of Pennsylvania reunited with the General Synod, the latter body assumed the sole direction of the mission. After the organization of the General Council, a part of this mission field was transferred to it, in 1869. Besides this mission among the Telugus, the General Council supports a mission in Porto Rico, and the General Synod one in Liberia on the west coast of Africa.

Other American Lutheran societies and enterprises are of a later date. In 1892 the United Synod of the

South began its mission work in Japan. The various Norwegian synods conduct missions in South Africa, Madagascar, India, China, and Japan. The Danes labor in Japan and among the American Indians. The Synodical Conference and the Missouri Synod carry on extensive missionary work among the negro population in various states and among the Tamils in India and the North American Indians. Some Synods carry on their foreign mission work in connection with other bodies, American or European.

131. **Missions to Jews.** Earnest efforts are also being made for the conversion of the Jews. In Great Britain and Continental Europe many societies have been organized for this special purpose. The work is carried on among them in nearly every country in Europe, in Egypt, Turkey, Palestine, Persia, and other countries. Comparatively little of this work is done in the United States. Lutheran societies for prosecuting Jewish missions are found in Germany (Berlin, Dresden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, etc), Sweden (Stockholm), Denmark, Norway, France, Russia, and the United States (Norwegian Zion Society; Missouri Synod, New York; German Iowa Synod; Chicago).

132. **A Retrospect of the Modern Era.** Two fountains countributed towards refreshing and purifying Christian culture at the opening of the Modern Age. They were the classical literatures and the Bible. The Reformation appropriated both of them and loosed the bonds which had fettered both religious and scientific thought during the Middle Ages. The Roman Church on the other hand clung tenaciously to the old traditions and consented to the removal of the worst abuses simply to establish herself all the more firmly upon her false foundation. Hence, the reformers were compelled to tear themselves loose from the papacy and to form new organizations. But even among those who desired a reformation of the Church on a scriptural basis divisions arose, as some sought

to appopriate all that was good and true in the historical development of the Church, while others would ignore this development and begin at the beginning; some sought to establish a complete and symmetrical Christianity, while others were inclined toward a rationalistic or mystical one-sidedness; some desired a closer union among all like believers and a fixed church order, others laid undue stress upon individual liberty. In this way there arose the two principal Protestant Churches, and within them and beside them a multitude of sects. Between these Churches and sects many mutual influences and conflicts arose, all of which render Church history of the Modern Age far more difficult to comprehend than that of the Middle Ages.

The first problem of the different Churches after the Reformation was to define their fundamental principles and in accordance with them to present symbolically their doctrines and to regulate their constitutions and cult. This required the greater part of the 16th century. Then followed a period during which efforts were made to secure complete dominion in life and doctrine to the recognized orthodox faith. In the Protestant Churches this work was carried out by the orthodox schools, in the Catholic Church it was done principally by the Jesuits. Orthodoxy often led to a dead faith and an empty formalism; the Jesuits consistently enough developed a blind submission to the authority of the Church and an empty observance of certain outward practices. Against both of them certain movements were started, demanding greater personal piety: Pietists, Herrnhuters, Methodists, Jansenists. They were able, however, to secure only a partial following. The great mass of the educated classes exchanged the authority of the Bible, the Church, and Confessions for that of Reason; they exchanged the *dead faith* for *no faith*. Thus Rationalism arose. But this superficial intellectualism could not, in the long run, satisfy either the religious wants nor deeper and sounder reflection. Then came the 19th century with a greater scientific depth, a more biblical and confessional theology, and a greater religious vitality. But in the meantime infidelity has secured new weapons and is gaining ground even among the lower classes. It is now a more dangerous enemy to the Church than ever.

At first the various Churches were in arms against one another, and the 16th and 17th centuries were a period of religious intolerance. This gave way to the religious indifference of the 18th century. The 19th century brought a confessional revival and a

return of church polemics, but the contests were now fought out with greater moderation, and religious liberty was established in most of the Christian countries. The Roman Catholic Church, however, seems to have accepted this condition only as a matter of necessity.

The moral condition has risen and fallen with the interest in religion. During the period of Rationalism morality declined. In our day Materialism is undermining morality as well as law and order in all departments.

During the Modern Era the State has struggled to gain control of the Church. This was especially the case in the 18th century, during the period of the so-called Enlightened Despots. During the 19th century the various Churches have aimed at attaining greater independence. Among Protestant Churches the aim is to secure the mutual independence of Church and State, that each may freely work out its own problems and attain its destined end and purpose. The Roman Catholic Church still aims at securing control of the State.

In the 16th and 17th centuries scientific investigation was subject to the direction of the Church. During the 18th century it emancipated itself from the Church and assumed a hostile attitude toward Christianity. Even in this respect the 19th century has brought better conditions. The Church recognizes the right of independent research, while earnest scientific thinkers admit that religion alone can satisfy the deepest cravings of the soul and that there is an infinite realm into which human thought can not penetrate. But on the other hand there are many who desire a culture without Christianity and look for a time of complete religious emancipation.

More than ever before the Church is now called upon to work. She must fight indifference and skepticism from within and build herself up upon the true foundation. From without the Lord has opened the door to the heathen world, which is a challenge to the Church to be up and to work and gather in the rich harvests. For both of these duties she hath need of putting on the whole armor of God, that she may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand.

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